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GEORGE C. GUINS

Professor and Government Official:
Russia, China, and California

An Interview Conducted

by

Boris Raymond

Berkeley
1966



George C. Guins
University of St. Petersburg

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PREFACE

In March, 1966, the Center for Slavic and East European Studies authorized funds for a pilot project to be undertaken by Boris Raymond for the preservation of information on the Russian Revolution and the Russian emigration. As proposed by Mr. Raymond to Professor Gregory Grossman, Chairman, Center for Slavic and East European Studies, the scope of the project would be to:

- a. explore the possibilities of gathering written and printed material for the Bancroft Library and initiating an inventory of similar collections;
- b. begin the compilation of a bibliography on the general topic of Russian emigrants in the Orient and in California; and
- c. conduct a series of interviews with carefully selected members of the Russian community whose recollections of the past would be of permanent historical value.

The work of the project was carried out by Mr. Raymond during the summer of 1966 under the supervision of a faculty committee appointed by Professor Grossman consisting of Professor Nicholas V. Riasanovsky, Department of History, and Professor Oleg Maslenikov, Department of Slavic Languages.

Three oral history interviews were conducted--with Alexandr Lenkoff, Valentin V. Fedoulenko, and Professor George C. Guins. Mr. Raymond prepared a bibliography of works on the Civil War in Siberia and the Far Eastern Russian emigration that were available in San Francisco collections. A start was made on bringing in materials for the California Russian Emigre Collection in the Bancroft Library.

In his report to the faculty committee at the conclusion of his part of the work, Mr. Raymond proposed an expansion of the project with an emphasis on the study of the history of the Russian emigration in the Far East and on the study of the history of the present structure of the Russian community in San Francisco. He concluded:

Such a study seems important because it represents (1) an example of how a whole stratum of a nation made the adjustment to conditions of exile and how it preserved and expanded the values it already held; (2) it sheds light on the character of the group that left Russia and furnishes a measure of the value of the human material that was lost to Russia because of the Revolution; (3) it sheds light on the problems faced by later anti-Communist refugee groups (Chinese, Hungarian, Cuban); (4) it sheds light on the political events of the twenties, thirties, and forties in the Far East; (5) it sheds light on the causes, strengths, and weaknesses of the anti-Communist fight by the White Russian movement; (6) it is invaluable as one important phase of an eventual definitive study of the Russian Revolution; (7) it sheds light on the cultural contribution that Russians have made and are making to California history.

The destruction of most of the major centers of this Far Eastern emigration (Harbin, Tientsin, Shanghai), the rapid dying off of the emigres, and the sustained loss of documents which is constantly occurring, make it imperative that such a study, if done at all, be done within the next few years.

This group of three Interviews with Russian emigres is the second unit in a Russian emigre series. The first unit was proposed and conducted in 1958-59 by Dr. Richard Pierce under the faculty supervision of Professor Charles Jelavich and Professor Riasanovsky.

Four interviews were done then--with Paul Dotsenko, Boris Shebeko, Michael Shneyeroff, and Elizabeth Malozemoff (interviewed by Alton Donnelly), and some Russian emigre papers were collected at that time. The interviews have been handled through the facilities of the Regional Oral History Office of the Bancroft Library.

Willa Klug Baum
Head, Regional Oral History Office

15 December 1968
Regional Oral History Office
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University of California at Berkeley

INTRODUCTION

I first met Professor Georgii Konstantinovich Guins in the late 1940's in Berkeley where he was teaching Slavic and political science at the University of California. I had, however, known of him ever since my childhood in Harbin, China, where he had been a prominent educator and where he had worked together with my grandfather on the Chinese Far Eastern Railroad in the early twenties, before the railroad was taken over by the Chinese government.

When Professor Guins returned to Berkeley in 1965 from Washington, D. C., I was conducting interviews of prominent White Russian emigres in California. This work in oral history had been made possible thanks to the efforts of Professors Grossman, Riasanovsky, and Maslenikov of the Slavic Institute and was designed to shed some light on the history of the long trek of White Russian emigres who had left Russia after the end of the civil war in Siberia and who had settled in China before making their final home in California.

Professor Guins was, of course, one of the more prominent members of this group. He had served in the Tsar's government, had been a minister with the Siberian government of Admiral Kolchak, and had been a well-known law professor in Harbin. He kindly agreed to let me interview him, and we began the series in his house in Oakland in the late summer of 1966.

Despite the many years that had elapsed, Georgii Konstantinovich clearly recalled events in Kishinev during his childhood, and remembered in detail many of the events that he witnessed during the 1905 Russian revolution as a student at St. Petersburg University.

I spent many hours in his library, whose walls were lined with numerous books and pamphlets which he had written over the years, listening to accounts of his meetings with figures who were legends as well as childhood words for me: Admiral Kolchak, Ataman Semenov and General Kapel whose body my father had brought to Chita after the General's death during the "Ice March" around Baikal.

Although retired for a number of years, Georgii Konstantinovich is still very much an active historian. His latest project is the study of the Russian empire as a multi-national entity. Professor Guins spent a great deal of time reviewing and revising the original oral transcriptions of our interview, preparing a complete bibliography of his voluminous writings, and helping me arrange interviews with a number of other prominent members of the Russian Far Eastern emigration. He is still active in the Russian colony of San Francisco, and as recently as November of 1968 gave a lecture on the causes of the failure of the White movement.

Both he and his very charming wife, Emilia Prognitskaia Guins, made my visits to their house a very pleasant experience as well as an interesting one. The interviews themselves, I hope, will be useful in the future to students of the Russian Revolution.

Boris Raymond [Romanoff]

31 December 1968
The Elizabeth Dafoe Library
University of Manitoba
Winnipeg, Canada

GEORGE C. GUINS

BRIEF BIOGRAPHY

Born April 15, (28) 1887, in the Russian fortress Novogeorgievsk, now Modlin, Poland. Father--Constantine Guins (Gins) was a commissioned officer; mother--Catherine, born Lamzaki, of Greek descent.

Father, due to his serious condition of health, was taken from Poland by his parents to Kiev, their domicile, where he died in 1891. Mother, with the four children, left for her former domicile, Kishinev, Bessarabia (now Moldavian S.S.R.)

1904: At the end of May completed classical gymnasium in Kishinev with a gold medal. In August enrolled in the St. Petersburg (since 1914 Petrograd) University.

February, 1908: Was awarded a silver medal by the St. Petersburg University for the essay on the problems of juridical persons.

May, 1909: Was assigned to Turkestan (Central Asia) on the recommendation of Professor V. M. Nechaev, who was simultaneously legal counsel of the Ministry of Justice, to study legal principles involved in the distribution of water for irrigation, in connection with the needs of the newly resettled peasants from the European regions.

On the way to Turkestan visited, on his own initiative, Tiflis, the administrative center of Transcaucasia, a region similar to Turkestan as regards conditions of climate and agricultural economy. Stopped in Tashkent to study related materials. Visited personally many settlements of native groups and Cossacks' stanitsas (villages) in the Semirechenskaia Oblast, and its central city Vernyi (Alma-Ata at present).

Presented his findings in the form of the report later published in the Voprosy Kolonizatsii (Problems of Colonization).

December, 1909: Graduated from St. Petersburg University with the diploma of the first degree.

January 10, 1910: Married Emilia, born Prognitskaia. Has two sons: Vsevolod, born October, 1910; and Sergei, born February, 1915.

Joined the staff of the Resettlement Department (Pereselencheskoe Upravlenie) in January, 1910, and was promoted in 1913 to the position of Officer for Special Assignments attached to the Minister of Agriculture.

1916: Passed special examinations at Petrograd University for getting the right to teach at the imperial universities and became a lecturer (privat docent) of the Petrograd University.

April, 1917: Was appointed Chief Counsel of the Ministry of Food Supply founded after the February Revolution.

January, 1918: In connection with the post-October changes in both Ministry and University, left Petrograd for Asiatic Russia.

February, 1918: Joined in Omsk the Regional Organization of the Consumer Cooperatives as a member of its board. In April, was elected Professor of Civil and Commercial Law of the newly founded Omsk Polytechnical Institute's economic department.

May, 1918: After the overthrow of the Soviet regime in Omsk, joined the Siberian government as the chief of its office. Accompanied the chief of the government, P. V. Vologodskii, to Vladivostok to attempt the unification of the government in the whole of Siberia.

1919: Continued to work with the government of Admiral A. V. Kolchak until its fall in January of 1920. Afterwards emigrated to Harbin, Manchuria.

March, 1920: Became a professor at Harbin Law School (Juridicheskii Fakultet) with economic and Oriental sections. The school was founded by a group of professors, emigres, with the material assistance of the Harbin intelligentsia and Russian entrepreneurs. It was later supported by the Chinese Eastern Railway. Kept this position through 1938.

January, 1921: Became Chief of the Office of the Board of Directors of the Chinese Eastern Railway, and later, until May, 1926, its Chief Controller.

September, 1928: Went to Paris via Hong Kong, Manila, Singapore, Colombo, Kair, Genoa, with a grant from the Harbin School of Law to study new legislation of the European countries. Visited Italy, London, Berlin, and Romania (Bessarabia).

April, 1929: Defended in Paris his dissertation "Water Law," and was awarded the degree of Magister of Civil Law by the Russian Academic group attached to the French Ministry of Education. Returned to Harbin, Manchuria, in May, 1929.

1930: Published a book, Na Putiakh k Gosudarstvu Budushchego (On the Way to the State of the Future), with the subtitle, "From Liberalism to Solidarism." (Harbin, 1930)

In addition to lecturing at the School of Law and at the Pedagogical Institute, was, in various periods, Chairman of the Committee of the Educational Institutions of the Chinese Eastern Railway, Chairman of the Council of Supervisors of the Harbin municipality, member of the Board of Directors of the Houseowners' Bank.

Practiced law as a consultant and at court. Contributed articles to newspapers and to the Harbin Law School publication (Izvestia Juridicheskogo Fakulteta).

Published the following works:

Sibir', Soiuzniki i Kolchak (Siberia, Allies, and Kolchak), two volumes, Peking, 1921.

Eticheskie Problemy Kitaia (Ethical Problems of China), Harbin, 1927.

Vodnoie Pravo i Predmety Obshchego Polsovania (Water Law and Objects of Public Use), 1928.

Novyie Idei v Prave i Osnovnye Problemy Sovremennosti (New Ideas in Law and the Problems of the Modern Time), two volumes, 1931-1932.

Sotsialnaia Psychologia (Social Psychology), 1936.

Pravo i Kultura (Law and Culture), The Origin and Development of Law, 1938.

Quo Vadis Europa? (Whither goes Europe?), Europe and Asia on the eve of the First World War, 1941.

Predprinimatel' (The Entrepreneur), in collaboration with Leo Zikman, 1941.

July, 1941: Left Manchuria for the U.S.A. In San Francisco in 1942-1944 edited Russian Life, a daily, in Russian.

December, 1944: Joined UNRRA staff in Washington D.C. until April, 1945.

September, 1945: Became a lecturer at the University of California, Berkeley Slavic Department, and since 1948 also in the Department of Political Science. Retired on July 1, 1954.

July-August, 1952: Attended International Congress of Jurists in West Berlin, where he presented his paper on Soviet Law.

1954: Published his work, Soviet Law and Soviet Society, The Hague, Martinus Nijhoff.

1956: Published Communism on the Decline, The Hague, Martinus Nijhoff.

1955-1964: Worked for the United States Information Agency (Voice of America).

July, 1964: Retired because of illness. Began in 1965 and currently continues to prepare a new work, History of Russia as a Multinational Empire, supported with a grant from the Slavic Center of the University of California, Berkeley.

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PART I. YOUTH IN KISHINEV

Raymond: Professor Guins, you have mentioned in your short autobiography your youth in Kishinev. Could you give me a description of this town?

Guins: Kishinev was the capital of Bessarabia. It occupies a territory between two hills. At my time it was situated on the slope of the western hill. On the eastern there was the house in which Pushkin lived during his exile. I lived in the upper part of the city. And I used to descend to the lower and then cross the river Byk, a tributary of the Dniester River, during the summer because on the other slope across the river there were many vineyards, one of which belonged to my relatives.

The lower part of the city was inhabited by the poorer people; the upper part was mostly occupied by the residences of rich people, and the best shops were there. From the social point of view, the people who were living in the upper part had no close connections with the inhabitants of the lower. The house in which I was living was near the house of the marshal of the nobility of the Bessarabian region and was only two or three blocks from the center of the city--from Pushkinskaia, one of the best streets--and was also near the cathedral.

The cathedral was situated in the center of a large public park in the form of a square. All four borders of the park were wide boulevards. One of them along the main street had been the place of meetings and walkings of all kinds of people, beginning from the brokers during the early hours of the day to young people in the evening time. From the boulevards a number of alleys led to the cathedral. During the great Christian holy days, as, for example, the days of Easter, the cathedral was overcrowded, and it was very convenient to use the narrow ways of the park for reaching sooner the necessary street.

Still more the park was necessary on the days when military parades were organized at a special place beside the cathedral which purposely was not implanted. It had been planted in the days of namesdays and birthdays of the

Guins: emperor, empress, and the heir to the throne. One of the generals accepted the parade. During the mass, the governor and all elder officials were present and occupied a specially reserved place. They arrived in their uniforms with ribbons and medals and the whole ceremony impressed one with the splendor of its ceremony, the military orchestra, and military discipline.

I want to mention also that the archbishop had a residence in a block located in front of the square in the center of which the cathedral was built, and the archbishop arrived for fulfilling divine service in a livery coach at the sound of the bells on a special toll from the bell-tower. Everything was impressive because of the solemnity of all the rituals.

Family

Guins: I lived in Kishinev with my mother's family, with my grandfather and grandmother. My mother had to leave Poland because my father became seriously sick and was hospitalized in Kiev where his parents were living. He died and was buried there. She could do nothing else but return with her four children to her parents.

Raymond: How old were you then?

Guins: Four years old.

Raymond: Then you were not born in Kishinev?

Guins: No. I was born in Modlin, Poland, in 1887.

Raymond: Could you tell me something about your maternal grandparents?

Guins: Grandfather was already a very old man, Greek by origin, Lamzaki. He was the only one in our family who used the Greek language. I remember how he prayed every morning before the icon in Greek. My grandmother was not of Greek origin. Her father had been Bulgarian; her mother, as far as I remember, was Moldavian.

Guins: My grandfather was born in the neighborhood of Odessa. There his family had a large estate. In conformity with the last name of the landowners it was called "Lamzaki." Grandfather was the only one in his family who had received education in the middle school. He did not receive a large inheritance. His parents had told him that as an educated man he was assured of financial independence, and they left most of their estate to their other children. He married a girl with a good dowry, however, and the house in which our family had been sheltered was more or less prosperous.

Besides the property in Kishinev, they also had a small vineyard within walking distance of the town. On their city lot there were three houses. The main one was occupied by my grandparents and their daughter, who was not married. The two other houses were on the same lot and were rented by relatives: one by an older daughter who had married a doctor, and the other by the sister of my grandmother, who was a widow.

Raymond: What did your grandfather do?

Guins: He was, I understand, an inspector of the Jewish schools in Kishinev. On his pictures, he had two medals he received. The people in the position I later occupied in St. Petersburg preferred to be advanced in their ranks rather than to get such medals. But in the provinces and especially in the middle of the nineteenth century the orders of Stanislav and Anna of the third degree seemed to be a high award.

Kishinev Society

Raymond: Could you tell me a little about the social background of Kishinev?

Guins: In the society of the city, a great role belonged to the members of the government administration*: the governor, vice-governor, and the chiefs of the different branches of

*Professor Guins has described the Russian provincial and central government administration of Bessarabia to Professor Richard Pierce. That information will be in another manuscript.

Guins: understandable. Their daughters married mostly young people of Jewish origin.

Raymond: What about the religious group, the priesthood?

Guins: The priesthood lived more or less separately. They led their own lives, not because they were not invited but because it was not customary for the priesthood to mingle too closely with "society." During the Easter holidays, for example, a priest was a very desirable guest, but only in this case or after a funeral, or in case of a baptism. Now you know the composition of the city.

Raymond: Professor Guins, before we leave this subject, let me ask you one more question. What about the layer of merchants, of businessmen? In America, for instance, the businessman is very important--in the top social strata. In Kishinev at that time, were owners of industry, for instance, or owners of factories, or owners of big stores part of the top social strata?

Guins: That is a very interesting question. It is also interesting that I did not think of it. Now, when you ask me, I remember that we had no contact with these people. Why? A great majority of the merchants in Kishinev were Jews, and they had their own circle of people. There were also some foreigners who organized stores in Russia--representatives, for example, of Polish industry. This group was not very large in the upper part of the city anyway, because there were not so many great enterprises at least in this part of the country. But in the lower part of the city where there were numerous small shops, many of them were owned by Jews who lived in the Jewish quarter in the lower part of the city.

We have to remember, however, that there were many rich landowners in Bessarabia, the so-called "pomeshchiki." Many of them had private residences in Kishinev--in the well-built modern town with theaters, social clubs and halls, and educational institutions in which their sons and daughters could learn.

Raymond: Kishinev was, then, mainly an administrative center. It didn't have many industries; therefore it didn't have a big working class, is that correct?

Guins: That is correct, yes--not only if we are speaking about Kishinev, but if we are speaking in general about Bessarabia.

Guins: In Kishinev, for example, I remember only two enterprises: one was a flour mill, and the other was a vodka and cognac distillery. Consequently, there was no working class.

Raymond: Who lived in the lower part of the city then?

Guins: There were different ranks of employees. Not all employees had a sufficient salary. If they could buy property at all, it was in the lower part of the city. There was no obvious line that separated the lower from the upper. It was a gradual change. In Berkeley too, if you move towards the bay, you can see more and more poor houses.

Social Life

Guins: The life in Kishinev during the period when I was in high school was very patriarchal. The oldest people in the family had the greatest authority. They decided whether to give education to their children, and what kind of education. For example, many people were of the idea that "middle" education was quite sufficient, that it was not necessary to go to the university. They felt that it was better to marry a girl of decent family and be a landlord.

By a patriarchal life, I also mean life within a narrow circle of people who meet each other often. In the house of my grandfather I met mostly our own relatives. And I visited the relatives of my grandfather. He took me by railway to Odessa where they lived, and I had a chance to meet them and to stay with them.

Only later, when I was in the gymnasium, did I have my own friends, who visited me at my house and whose family I could meet in turn. And later I knew some girls and visited them. But their families did not visit my family. Only people of the same age had contact. These patterns were true in general in Kishinev society, because when I visited the houses of my friends, I could see that they too had a close circle of relatives and friends and that they lived also in such small groups.

However, there were two clubs in the city. One was an old one called "Blagorodnoe Sobranie," which translates

Guins: Literally as "Gathering House of the Well-Born." By this was meant among others the people above the general division of people in Russia, the "Dvorianie"--hereditary nobility. There were such people in the Bessarabian government--the Marshal of the Government Nobility, Mr. Krupensky, for instance, whose home, as I mentioned, was close to ours and whose son George was my classmate in the gymnasium. But there were relatively few of these hereditary nobles in Bessarabia. Perhaps a few Russian aristocrats for different reasons had received property in Bessarabia, maybe they received it as a dowry from their wives' families. There were also former high-ranking military men, who, because of their ranks--a general, for example, or those who had very important medals--received automatically the right to enter the ranks of the hereditary nobility.

The so-called "Blagorodnoe Sobranie" was a club where all wealthy people could become members, a club for playing cards and meeting each other. In this club, several times a year, balls were organized which everybody could attend. Some of these were benefit affairs; the profits were used for different kinds of charity. In the main hall of this club there was a scene and various spectacles were organized. Students of various universities organized every year their special gala ball.

Raymond: Were these balls open to everybody?

Guins: Definitely--to everybody who was well-dressed and could afford to go. And then the daughters or sons of any people, of any race, any position, could also attend and be invited for dances. Everything was dependent on your behavior, your decency. I remember, for example, I met some girls whom I invited for a dance, and sometimes their parents invited me to visit them. In such a manner I could widen the circle of my social contacts.

Raymond: Professor Guins, one more question about social life. I remember in China, in my youth, one of the big ways of socializing was to visit each other's homes. Did this go on in Bessarabia, too?

Guins: Yes. In several houses I knew some friends but did not visit them. I don't know why--maybe because of the patriarchal character of my family. And they were more distant from the circle. I knew some families, but I did not visit them. But my comrades in the gymnasium visited,

Guins: for example, the family of a widow of an officer who had a very beautiful daughter. She liked to see young men, because she was alone with her daughter in the house and she liked people. She would invite people and one would introduce another.

One of the teachers was very hospitable and he invited some students of the school to his home and met with the families of the students.

Among the people whom I met when I was already among the higher classes of the gymnasium were different kinds of intellectuals who had some kind of occupation, although they were not government employees. Who were they? Maybe they were city employees. One of them, a lady, was a librarian. She was very active and very intelligent. If somebody, a young man, visited the library, she liked to speak to him, to find out his interests, to offer him different kinds of books. For example, she helped me when I was interested in different matters. She gave me materials about which I had never heard. This lady liked to take part in plays as an actress. She organized a circle of amateur artists who became the city's acting company. Many plays by the outstanding Russian playwright, Ostrovskii, were staged by this group quite well.

Another member of this group of intellectuals was the father of my comrade in the gymnasium, Mr. Milienko. He was not a government employee; he was a teacher, very well known in the city. I never heard another man who could recite Krylov's fables so well.

The librarian, or somebody else in this small circle, acquired slides with illustrations of the fables. Imagine what a pleasure it was for a boy to see a picture on the screen of a fox and a crow with a piece of cheese, and Mr. Milienko reciting the fables so well that he changed his voice for the different parts. There were a number of such people in the city.

I lived in Kishinev for thirteen years, from 1891 to 1904. Then I left for St. Petersburg to enroll in the university. During this short period, I came in contact with these various kinds of groups.

My mother's family did not belong to the nobility. My father was a hereditary noble, but he died and then the

Guins: family fell into the social circle of my grandfather. Our direct contact was mostly with the landlords in the city and the proprietors of estates in the country.

I was saying that the period when I was conscious of social life was very short. But even during this period I could notice that great changes were taking place every year. The whole Bessarabian region was in a state of very rapid economic and social development. So the contact between different groups was increasing.

Student at the Gymnasium

Guins: When I entered the gymnasium to begin my studies, there were only two gymnasiums in Kishinev. In the gymnasium we studied classical languages. We advanced from the first class to the eighth class studying Latin and Greek. With every new class the obligatory reading became more and more difficult. In the fourth class, for instance, we read Caesar's descriptions of the Gallic Wars, and we ended with Virgil and Horace in the more advanced classes. Greek was started in the third class. In the higher classes we read Homer's Iliad and Odyssey in the original Greek.

When I was at the university I used Latin very often. Being a jurist, I had to read Roman law in Latin.

Raymond: What was the difference between the gymnasium and the "Realschule"?

Guins: In the "Realschule" there were no classical languages at all. And instead of the many hours we spent with classical education, they spent them on natural sciences, on mathematics, modern languages, and the studies of physics and chemistry, which we didn't study at all.

Raymond: Did you have any modern foreign language?

Guins: We had French and German.

Raymond: Did you have to study Old Slavonic?

Guins: Yes, that was also compulsory.

Raymond: What made you decide to enroll in the gymnasium rather than the "Realschule"?

Guins: It was the desire of my mother. Every family considered an education in the gymnasium as a great achievement. I do not know why my family did that, probably because the older members of my family, the not-so-close relatives, also went to the gymnasium. Also, there was only one "Realschule" and two gymnasiums, and they were more popular.

In general, the staff of the gymnasium was a part of the bureaucratic system. The director of the gymnasium had a special uniform which differentiated him from the others, from the rank-and-file teachers. The teachers also had special uniforms.

In the school I attended, we studied only the subjects which were assigned. Therefore, those teachers who taught us something extra I remember better than the others. For example, there was a teacher of Greek who liked Greek poetry and recited Homer so well that it was difficult not to remember many verses. He explained to us various lines of Homer's works, the quality and peculiarities of various words and combinations of words with certain letters for expressing the content, as, for example, the letter "r" where storm had been described: "Trikhtha te kaitertakhta dieskhisen vis anemoio." I want to indicate how important it was for our education when the teacher liked what he taught.

Raymond: Were there many such teachers who were exceptionally interesting?

Guins: Not so many. We had only one other, a teacher of Russian literature whose last name was Kozlenko. He was a very simple and a very urbane man. He seemed to like me, and he invited me to his house. I cannot forget this man because I find that his system of teaching prepared us for the university. When he noticed an interest in his students, he began to recommend various kinds of books in addition to the textbooks. I was at that time in the seventh class, and about fifteen or sixteen years old.

In general, the textbooks we used corresponded to the main idea of the gymnasium as an institution which had to prepare students for the university. We had a good idea

Guins: of the ancient period of European history, and at the same time an idea about ancient art and beauty as it found its expression in Homer's epics and the sculpture of the Greek artists. So we developed a kind of aestheticism which remained for the future.

In addition to the general education, we received a religious education, studying the Old Testament, which gave us a conception of the life outside of Europe.

Raymond: Were you at all familiar with the literature of France, Germany, and England in the gymnasium?

Guins: Oh yes. It was included first in the history of the medieval period and the modern period, and also it was connected with the influences of the literature of European countries on the Russian writers.

Raymond: How much political education did you receive?

Guins: No political discussions at all. There were no such discussions, and the general political education was more or less uniform. We were given the idea, based only on textbooks of Russian history, that monarchy was the best regime for Russia. We had to study the French Revolution and the revolutions in England, and in this manner only we were acquainted with other political systems.

Anti-Semitism in Bessarabia

Guins: During my years in Bessarabia, anti-Semitism was very strong. And it was proselytized very drastically by one who was very well-known at that time, a publicist named Krushevan, who was the editor of the newspaper Bessarabiets, in which he publicized his anti-Semitic feelings. He was one of the people who, from my point of view, could be considered responsible for the pogroms, because his propaganda covered the country. And those who became victims were poor people who could not understand why they were so hated: industrious artisans, shoemakers, tailors, bookbinders, or retail merchants. My personal

Guins: contact with those groups of Jewish people in Kishinev left me with the impression that they were very industrious people who were living very modestly because their income was limited.

Raymond: What did you think of the accusations that the Jewish merchants exploited and overcharged the population?

Guins: I cannot imagine how they could exploit the population of a city where you could find other shops. These people could not exploit because, as you know, only a man who is sufficiently secure economically can exploit. These people who were of Jewish origin in the lower part of the city, as I called it earlier, could not, from my point of view, receive from outside anything but sympathy and condolence.

Those who were in the upper part of the city, the attorneys-at-law, the physicians and doctors, and the intellectuals, sent their sons to the gymnasium. One of them was Bukshman, whose father was an insurance agent. He probably also had some kind of wholesale agency. His son was the second best student in class, or else he was first and I was second. We both graduated cum laude and were awarded gold medals.

Raymond: Are you saying that many of the intelligentsia did not approve of the anti-Semitism as advocated by this Krushevan?

Guins: Yes. He was most successful among the landlords, who were not educated but who were prosperous people.

Raymond: How about army officers?

Guins: No, I never heard about it. I had many contacts with military people, because the brother of my mother was an officer and the husband of my sister was an officer and so forth. There were many friends and relatives who were in the military, but I never heard anti-Semitism in its brutal form from them.

It was mostly middle class people who were disposed inimically towards the Jews, because the Jews were their competitors and were more intelligent, more industrious, and had more experience in commerce.

I loved to visit my comrade Bukshman as my classmate and because only in his house, besides the public library, could I see the Russian encyclopedia, that was of great

Guins: importance and interest to me.

The son of the physician, Slutskii, a Jew, graduated with the silver medal. We were not very close with him, because his character was not very agreeable. But I respected him, and later when he graduated from the College of Law of Novorossiiskii University in Odessa and arrived to St. Petersburg after the Revolution of 1917, I invited him to be my assistant, as a specialist in railway law. Some claims connected with transportations became especially numerous since the time of the February revolution, while I was legal adviser of the Ministry of Supply.

In my class there were seven Jews out of thirty students, which was a sufficiently high percentage.

I told you so much about the Jews because it was one of the most unhealthy problems in Bessarabia and because of their rapidly growing demand for education.

Contact with other Social Classes

Raymond: With what other social groups did you have contact?

Guins: Many people moved to Kishinev from the small cities and from the provinces. It was not so difficult therefore to meet children of various classes: the provincial landlords, and the middle class who, although they were not prosperous enough, wanted to give an education to their children. Therefore I could get a wide experience with many different groups of the population.

Also, I had relatives in the province, and I lived on their estates during the summer. There I met different kinds of people too. I liked to ride horseback. A good horse was given to me, and in such a manner I could visit some landlords who lived a little farther away. One was a Greek. He knew that my relatives were Greek and invited me to his house.

I had several other acquaintances. I will not talk in detail about them, but they were from a variety of social groups. Therefore, when I graduated from the

Guins: gymnasium, I had had a variety of social experience and contacts in addition to the ones I got from my immediate family.

As a student of the eighth class, the last one, I had already good contacts with the families of girls of my age. These girls were the daughters of the high officials in Kishinev. One was chief of the excise board of the whole province. He was from Moscow and his wife was from St. Petersburg. In their house there was a different atmosphere; it was not the atmosphere of provincial Bessarabia, but that of Great Russia and the aristocracy of the capital.

In this way, I was more or less prepared already for another kind of life.

PART II. STUDENT AT ST. PETERSBURG UNIVERSITY, 1904 - 1909

Guins: When I graduated with a gold medal, an award which gave me the privilege to enroll in any university, at my choice, I decided to enroll at the St. Petersburg University, especially because one of the brothers of my father lived in St. Petersburg. My sister, as a daughter of the officer, also had the privilege to be accepted to the special institution for the daughters of the noblemen and officers, and she was studying in one of the institutes of the capital. So my mother had no objections to my wish to go there.

The only problem was the additional cost involved, because in Odessa I had many relatives and I could have lived at their house for free. When I was in the seventh and eighth class of the gymnasium, there were always younger students who needed me as a coach to assist them to prepare their lessons. I did it, earned money, and saved a sufficient amount to live by my own means in St. Petersburg.

Raymond: How much were you paid for such work?

Guins: Not much. There were some people who were rich, but they tried to bargain. I remember very well that a very rich man once invited me to teach his son. I told him that I wanted to receive twenty rubles. "Twenty rubles! Oh no! No, ten rubles are quite enough for you."

After graduation I continued during the summertime to give lessons and collected still more money. My mother paid for my uniform, because every student had a uniform. The day after graduation from the gymnasium, we already put on the uniform of the university, which was the same in all of them.

Raymond: By that time you had enough money saved from your lessons to help you go to the University of St. Petersburg?

Guins: To live there. My mother gave me a uniform and also paid for my transportation. She also offered to assist with

Guins: the living expenses in St. Petersburg, but I refused because I wanted to be independent.

Cost of Living

Raymond: How much a month did it cost you, approximately?

Guins: I was very surprised that the cost of living was not quite as high as I had expected. For example, for a room I paid twelve rubles a month. Sometimes I lived together with some good friend from Kishinev and we had a room together for fifteen or sixteen rubles, a large room.

The meal which we received in the dining room attached to the University for students was very cheap. For example, we received for thirteen kopeks borsch (cabbage soup) with a piece of meat and a cutlet, and as much bread as we wanted, because bread was on the table free for everybody. The students' dining room had been supported by the donations of various people including those professors who received high honorariums. If we wanted something more attractive than borsch and cutlet, or dessert, we spent some more. We had something to drink, for example "kvas," or tea--all this for maybe one or two kopeks. For breakfast and evening tea we could buy bread, milk, butter, and eggs. Everything was cheap, and the cost of living was thus not very high.

Raymond: Was the tuition expensive?

Guins: Tuition was 25 rubles for each of the two sessions--one winter and one spring. Besides that, we had to pay an amount of rubles per semester according to how many hours we attended per week. For example, if we attended thirty hours per week, we had to add thirty rubles.

Raymond: For attending thirty hours per week during the whole session, you paid thirty rubles for the four months of wintertime and thirty rubles again during the spring session?

Guins: Yes.

Raymond: And did you have homework on top of the thirty hours in class and lectures?

Guins: Nothing obligatory in my department, but it was not the same when there was work in the labs.

Raymond: It was not like here, in the United States?

The Educational System

Guins: No. The system of education was different. First of all, in the matter of payments because, although this additional money (in our example thirty rubles per session) was given to the university, it went directly to the professors. If a professor, for instance, had 1,000 students in his class or auditorium (as we used to call classes), and he was giving six hours per week, he would earn 6,000 rubles per semester, in addition to his university salary of, say, 3,000. It was a very strange system.

You must understand that 1,000 students is not an invented number of mine. In the first course of the Law Faculty at the University of St. Petersburg there were, in fact, at my time about 1,000 students. At the same time, another professor, whose lectures only 100 students attended, received for six lectures per week only 600 rubles for every session as additional to his salary.

Raymond: Professor Guins, how did you happen to decide on the line of education that you wanted to pursue?

Guins: When I was at the gymnasium none of our teachers told us about our future. But one of the teachers with whom I had close contact, Mr. Kozlenko, the teacher of Russian literature, always tried to stimulate my interest in literature. Encouraged by my mother, I began to think about the so-called historical-philosophical faculty, that is, literature, history, philosophy, and languages, especially classical languages. I had no idea about what I might choose besides that. I went to St. Petersburg with the

Guins: intention of enrolling as a student of the faculty of classical languages, history, and literature.

Arrival at St. Petersburg

Raymond: What were your first impressions?

Guins: I left Kishinev in warm weather, at the end of August. It was the best season in Bessarabia when grape reaping is going on; the girls who are doing this agreeable job are singing, and everybody enjoys the fresh grape juice. But in the northern provinces it was already fall, and when I arrived at St. Petersburg at the end of August the fall was very advanced. It was necessary to wear an overcoat. So my impression was that I had gone very far away from home indeed.

There were, besides, many different impressions during this short period of two days of travelling by the train from Kishinev to St. Petersburg. Approaching the capital for the first time, I looked with interest and anxiety out of the window. I had my sister with me; she was returning to St. Petersburg to the Institute.

Not long before I left Kishinev, we read in the newspapers about terrorist acts in St. Petersburg and the death of the Minister of the Interior, Plehve. That was in 1904. The very first place we saw after leaving the station was the place where Plehve had been killed by terrorists. While we were still living in Bessarabia there were sometimes disorders in various parts of Russia, and there were from time to time different terrorist acts: now a governor was killed, now another one, now a minister.

Raymond: Were there any killed in Bessarabia, in Kishinev?

Guins: No. There weren't any such acts in Bessarabia. They were mostly in the Great Russian provinces.

Raymond: Where did you live in St. Petersburg?

Guins: It was not necessary for me to look for a room, because my

Guins: mother, before letting me go, had already had a conversation with various people, her friends, and found among them a lady who had a sister in St. Petersburg. She agreed to receive for a while not only me but also a girl who graduated from a gymnasium for girls in Kishinev and enrolled in one of the special institutes for girls in St. Petersburg, the so-called Lesyaff Institute, which applied some new methods of education.

This girl arrived earlier than myself and I met her on the first day of my arrival in the capital. She told me that we could go together the same evening to the opera to listen to the great bass Chaliapin sing the role of Don Basilio in The Barber of Seville. He was already a famous singer. Imagine, my first day in St. Petersburg and a chance to hear such a famous artist!

The summer theater Olympia was very close to the house where we lived. It was in a good part of St. Petersburg--the Sergievskaja Street close to the Liteinyi Prospect where there were many residence houses of great aristocrats. There was also a theater which was used for performances during the summer. It was impossible to get tickets; there were only "entrance tickets" for standing room, and we succeeded in getting two of these, my friend, the girl from Kishinev, and I, for one ruble each. Anyhow, we had the privilege to admire Chaliapin's singing and his exclusive artistic talent, not only as a singer but as an actor.

Raymond: That must have been quite exciting for a young provincial student to be among the St. Petersburg high society with all the glittering uniforms and beautiful ladies.

Guins: Everything was different from Kishinev. When you go down the Nevskii Prospect, the main street downtown, you approach the Winter Palace and the Admiralty. Between the Winter Palace and the Admiralty there is the entrance to the Neva River bridge. On the banks of the river, you have a beautiful perspective to your right and left and to the front. In front of the Winter Palace there is the beautiful building of the Stock Exchange and further to the east the so-called Petropavlovsk Fortress with its high spires which could be seen from various parts of the city.

At that time there were very few cars in St. Petersburg, but there were many beautiful horses and carriages and coachmen who charged a very high price because they could

- Guins: run very fast. I did not use a coach because it was beyond my means. But to my satisfaction I could use a "konka"--a two-story horse carriage on rails. I always used the upper story in order to be able to see more of the city. Two or three years later "konkas" had been replaced by the electrical tramway.
- Raymond: Were the buildings much larger in St. Petersburg than they were in Kishinev? I don't mean the palaces but the houses of private people.
- Guins: In the central part of St. Petersburg it was almost impossible to see a one-story house. They were no less than two stories high there--mostly three stories or more.
- Raymond: How big was St. Petersburg at that time? For instance, as a student, could you walk from one end of St. Petersburg to the other, or was it too big for that?
- Guins: No, I could not, because there were many parts of St. Petersburg. If you took a Neva steamer to go up the river, it was necessary to go for more than one hour before you reached a place where there weren't any more buildings.
- Raymond: How far from the university did you live?
- Guins: Originally, the apartment where I found a room was quite far, and I had to walk one half hour to reach the university. But it was a very interesting walk. To reach the university, I could either walk along the Neva banks or through different streets crossing the best parts of St. Petersburg--for instance the Letnii Sad, the summer garden, which is mentioned in many literary works. It was the place where the children of aristocratic families passed their early mornings with their tutors or nurses. And there was the place where the officers of the guard and the girls of the good families promenaded and made acquaintances.

Impressions of the University

- Raymond: You were going to tell me about your first impressions of the university.

Guins: I first saw the university on the day of enrollment. There were hundreds of people in line. We had to pass by an office where a very amiable man received us and wrote down our names and gave us the ticket which certified that we were students of the university. I received my ticket and then I had to go to the office of the historical-philological faculty and had to enroll for the first-year program.

I have to explain that according to the rules of the university at that time, every faculty had obligatory courses for students of the first, second, third, and fourth years. You could not select anything except some special courses if you asked for them in addition to the obligatory ones. You could never attend another course if you did not pass the first. The system was such that you attended lectures and had to acquire the necessary textbooks if you had money or use the library if you did not. Usually every professor had his own textbook.

In the capital were the best professors; for example, the dean of the historical-philological faculty at the time was Professor Platonov, the famous Russian historian.

For the first year I had to attend almost exclusively courses about the ancient period, for example, the history of Greece of the classical period and of Rome of the classical period. There was also a course of Russian history, a course in the history of philosophy, a more advanced and detailed course of the Slavic language, and a required course of Greek and Latin. Medieval history was mostly for the second course and modern history for the third and fourth course.

First Contact with the Faculty of Law

When I started to attend lectures, I had to walk down the corridor which ran the length of the university building to get to my classes. Once when walking there, I noticed a professor wearing a formal uniform with gold buttons and a velvet collar and the emblem of the university on the left side. I noticed that behind this professor there were many students following him. I turned and changed my direction in order to follow him too. We all entered into one of the largest auditoria, which was arranged like an amphitheater.

Guins: I succeeded to find a place in spite of the fact that it was almost full already. The professor's rostrum was surrounded by standing students.

Soon the professor began to talk about the university-- what it meant, what kind of institution of higher learning it was and the difference between it and other institutions.

He emphasized that it was not so much the specific knowledge that one got in this auditorium that mattered; that, he said, one could find in textbooks. But rather what counted was learning how to think scientifically. It was very interesting to me.

This professor proved to be a Pole by origin, but he was born in Russia. His name was Leo Petrazicki. He was not a very tall man. He was stout; in fact his appearance did not impress. Yet when you began to hear his course, you could not leave. You wanted to listen and listen to everything he said. He was always very original and always very instructive. He proved to be an eminent teacher at the Faculty of Law.

Now having had such a good impression of one professor of the Faculty of Law, I decided to visit one more. So I attended a lecture by a professor of the history of Roman law, Joseph Pokrovsky, and again I was impressed not only with his eloquence but also with the horizons he opened to us and his interest in the subject.

Well, after such kinds of experience during the first and second week, I decided to change faculties and enroll in the Faculty of Law.

I attended twice the main course of Professor Petrazicki on the Theory of Law. I enjoyed the courses of the professor of civil law and the professor of political economy, and I attended also lectures of several other professors whose courses I liked and whose courses I wanted to know better.

But I worked especially at home and in the library on some particular subjects in which I was most interested. There were no obligatory works beside the courses, but those who were interested in more detailed study enrolled in the seminars and not only took part in the discussions but presented their own papers.

Guins: There was a special library for those interested in civil law, also a special library for those interested in criminal law, and a new one was later singled out for economists.

What I just told you was how things were during normal periods at the university. This normal period of my university life was a very short one, however, because of the abnormality of the historical conditions of Russia at the time.

Effect of Political Events on University Life

I enrolled at the university in the fall of 1904. Since the beginning of 1905, revolutionary movements began to spread over the country, precipitated by the unfortunate developments of the war with Japan. The fleet which was going from St. Petersburg to the Pacific was defeated by the Japanese at the Tsushima Strait. Later Port Arthur surrendered.

Students at this time also began to be more interested in political events and political changes. The leftists started to be more active at the university. I remember, for example, their first attempt to organize a meeting with the purpose of transforming classrooms and auditoriums into political rostrums.

One day, before the professor came in, somebody appeared on the rostrum and began a political speech of an anti-governmental character. At that moment, somebody shouted, "An inspector is coming!"

It was not a police inspector but an inspector of the university. At that time there were in the university not only professors but also inspectors and sub-inspectors. Their duty was to be among the students and to prevent any kind of violation of the regulations established by the administration.

Thus, when the speaker heard that an inspector was coming, he disappeared. The inspector appeared and, seeing that everything was in order, left. Soon afterwards, the professor arrived and began his lecture.

Guins: Later, the unauthorized student meetings continued even after the professor entered and the speaker asked permission to finish. Professors usually did not object. Such was the atmosphere in October and November of 1904.

Raymond: You had entered in August of 1904?

Guins: Yes. In September everything was quite normal. Teaching continued up to the end of the fall period in December with some inconsiderable interruptions.

Once I was visiting two girls from Kishinev, one of whom studied singing in the conservatory. The other was a student at a girls' institution of higher learning, the so-called Bestuzhevskie Kursy. It was probably evening or a holiday, I don't remember.

Somebody had locked the door. Suddenly it opened and there was a policeman, and together with him two persons in civilian clothes in the role of witnesses. They declared that they had to make a search.

The policeman asked me, "Who are you?" I opened my folder and gave him my visiting card. I should say that there was a crown over my name because I was a nobleman. At that time I was still proud of my origin, and I ordered my visiting cards as a student of the university to contain a crown.

How surprised the policeman was seeing such a card with my address in St. Petersburg! He just said, "Please do not be disturbed, sir. You can continue your conversation."

There certainly nothing was found, as my hostesses were completely apolitical; but they were very hospitable, and they were visited from time to time by many young men and young girls--their good friends.

Every doorman obviously had to report to the police how many people visited their building. So this doorman probably informed the police that there were many people coming and going.

That was the first search which happened in my presence.

Raymond: Did they look through your pockets?

Guins: No. They searched only among the letters and books and on

- Guins: the bookshelves, probably because many leaflets with revolutionary slogans had been spread in the capital.
- Raymond: You had at that time no contact with any left-wing politicals?
- Guins: No--no personal contact whatever. But the whole country began to feel their activities. And the government was responsible for their successes because of some unjustifiable acts. One of them was the "Bloody Sunday" of January 9, 1905, when workers who came with a petition addressed to the tsar were dispersed by the armed forces.

At the time when I came back to the university for the second session at the end of January, the atmosphere in the whole country became very tense. And at that time the activities of the leftist groups proved to be more noticeable and more audacious.

Student Political Activity

Soon after the beginning of the academic year, an announcement was made in the auditoriums that there would be a meeting. I decided to attend it. The hall, which had the nickname "Jeu de pomme," was full but not overcrowded.

On the rostrum there appeared students whom I had never seen before. One opened the discussion saying that it is very difficult to attend the university at this time, that it is necessary to take part in the life of the whole country, to be close to the people.

He said that the students had been called here in order to discuss the problem of a general student strike. Another speaker who, as I noticed in the beginning, arrived together with the first supported him. This was a group of people who certainly had a special mission from one of the revolutionary parties.

Then I asked to speak. I took my place at the rostrum and spoke about the importance of the subject which we were discussing, about the university which consisted not only of students but of professors.

I urged the meeting to invite all professors, docents, and lecturers. I offered my resolution, which consisted of

Guins: an invitation to the professors. The whole auditorium, all the members of the meeting, supported the resolution which I offered.

But in the newspapers the next day, the resolution was published not in the form in which I offered it. When the general meeting was later organized in the great hall, only two or three professors--from among several score of them--appeared as guests.

Some of us were of the opinion that maybe the professors did not wish to attend the meeting because they would be held responsible for decisions. They therefore preferred to consider this meeting only as a meeting of students.

A problem for everyone interested in this meeting was how, in fact, it was organized. It was very simple to get permission for the meeting and to inform all students by means of newspapers of the time. But the problem arose about the presiding body of the meeting--who will be the chairman, the secretary, the members, and so forth. And nobody knew that.

When the meeting opened, one of the students who had attended the earlier preparatory meeting appeared on the rostrum in the great hall of the university. There were so many people there that not only were all chairs occupied, but around those there was such a crowd that it was very difficult to move.

Then a student who appeared on the rostrum told that several students recommended to elect a chairman for the meeting--a certain Mr. Engel. Nobody knew him among those students who did not take part in politics, but they could not offer any opposition to him.

Mr. Engel was of very impressive appearance, a man with good manners and a lot of self-confidence who was evidently seasoned in political life. And he was an excellent chairman, I should say.

He very soon recommended two members as consultants to the chairman to organize a presidium instead of having only one chairman. And since there again was no protest, there appeared two students who undoubtedly were representatives of the political parties.

Raymond: Which political parties?

Guins: The Social Democrats and the Social Revolutionaries, I believe, as they were the best known leftist groups.

Raymond: Were there any other political parties among the students in Russia?

Guins: There was a very small group of students sympathizing with the Constitutional Democrats, a party whose leader was Professor Miliukov. That was the real democratic party, but it was not popular among the students and only a few of them belonged to it.

The predominant majority of the students did not belong to any party, as myself. Because of that we were not organized and could not resist the leftists.

Raymond: Why was the Miliukov party not popular, Professor Guins?

Guins: Because the politically active students belonged mostly to the leftist groups.

Raymond: Why?

Guins: I don't know why. Probably because their organization and propaganda were stronger. The leftist groups were the modern political groups which had direct connections and instructions from the corresponding parties. Being apolitical, without any definite orientation, and without leaders, the majority of students were not active.

The Constitutional Democratic Party [C. D.] was obviously not interested or, maybe, did not wish to interfere in student movements, because many professors belonged to the C. D. Party.

Thus, the masters of the situation were students who belonged to the various groups of socialists. Their organizers undoubtedly had had some conspiratorial meetings. These people were masters of the students.

My suspicions were justified by the fact that everything regarding the meetings was prepared in advance. It was not difficult to guess it, because they elected the chairman of the meeting and the whole presidium.

And they had a written list of people who declared that they wanted to speak. My impression was that the list

Guins: was also prepared in advance. That was the procedure of the meeting.

General Strike Called

The first speaker appeared. It was probably Mr. Voitinskii (Woytinsky), who was known already to us as a student of the first course at the department of law. I knew him because there was a seminar on political economy in which he was a very active member. He impressed me and others too by his very good education. At the gymnasium we had certainly heard the names of great French political philosophers like Voltaire, Rousseau, and so forth, but he had actually read them.

And he proved to be a very eloquent man. His speech was persuasive, well-organized. His idea, which he wanted to suggest to us, was that the conditions of life in Russia were very unstable at that time. From his point of view, the people of all the corners of the great empire were excited over the inactivity of the government, which was losing the war with Japan and which was unable to meet the needs of the population.

He said that the peasantry demanded improvements in living conditions and an increase in the land which they could use for their personal needs. He argued that the workers were exploited and had no possibility of organizing unions, which was their right, and so forth.

Therefore, he said, it was impossible to study at the present time; it was impossible not to pay attention to all these events in the country and not to be distracted by these matters and to be able to concentrate on studies.

What we should do, Voitinskii told us, was to return to the population from which we came, to live with the people, and to declare a general strike as an expression of our sympathy with the revolutionary movement in the country.

He raised the temperature of his audience and was awarded with applause from the whole meeting.

Guins: Then another speaker appeared and so they came, one after another. But very soon the chairman, on behalf of the whole presidium, offered a resolution. I asked whether anyone saw who offered the resolution, but nobody around me saw. So again my impression was that the resolution was prepared in advance and that the chairman took it from his pocket.

According to the resolution, the political situation of the country was not favorable for normal academic work, and it was necessary for students to return to their families and to take part in the life of the country. "For this reason the students of the University of St. Petersburg have decided to declare a general strike and to close the university until the time when the government will concede to the demands of the people and will satisfy these just demands." This resolution was adopted.

At that moment something quite unexpected happened. We were then amazed to see that the great picture in color of Emperor Nicholas II had a hole in it. Some hands took the picture and tore it down. Then everybody was asked to leave, and at the same time revolutionary songs were sung. That happened during the day.

In the evening all of St. Petersburg already knew that there had been a large meeting at the university and that the picture of the Tsar had been torn down.

The consequence of this was that at first the government wanted to deprive the university of its name--the "Imperial" University--and to reorganize it. Later, it was decided simply to close the university down. So we had to leave, and the teaching was discontinued.

The only thing we were permitted to do was to visit the library and rooms for special education, where a very small collection of books was kept in the field of one or another discipline. Just at that time I wanted to read Montesquieu's Esprit des Lois because I had heard that Voitinskii had read this book in the original and I wanted to read it myself.

As I was reading this book in one of the library rooms together with two more students who were also reading some books, several students entered and shouted, "You idiots! What are you doing here? Don't you know that the strike has been declared and everything must be discontinued? You

Guins: cannot work here." In this way it became impossible to work. So, in one week or ten days, I decided to leave St. Petersburg and return to Bessarabia.

Raymond: How did you vote at the meeting, Professor Guins?

Guins: Well, I don't remember whether I raised my hand. They voted--yes, there were many who voted "no"--but the chairman declared that there was an obvious majority of "yes" votes and therefore it could be said that the resolution was unanimously adopted.

Raymond: How did you feel after all these orations?

Guins: I should say that I was simply overwhelmed by the general atmosphere. My feeling was that I was voiceless; that, even if I had the right to speak, I would not receive the opportunity to say anything. I left with the feeling that we had been just a crowd. My impression was that everything was organized earlier and that the crowd of about 1,000 students could not have done anything else unless it had been in a very different mood.

But at that time the whole mood was more or less excited. I remember that in 1906 in the student dining room there appeared a woman student who approached me and said, "Mr. Guins, I heard you in some seminars and I want to offer you membership in our political group."

"What is your party?" I asked .

She replied, "Social Democrat." I told her that I was not interested in politics, that I was very interested in my studies, and that I was working hard and would not distract my attention.

Raymond: What was there about you that made you not susceptible to student left-wing politics?

Guins: I told you that I lived in a patriarchal atmosphere in Kishinev. I had no contact with political people there, although I heard that there were some secret meetings in Kishinev. They were mostly in the lower part of the city, however.

Raymond: How would you characterize your political position at that time? Not actively political, but in your thinking. Were

Raymond: you a monarchist?

Guins: No, I could not say that. I had no definite idea about politics. I did not reflect about them much. I should say that I accepted life and the existing order as they were.

Raymond: In other words, you were not against the Tsar?

Guins: I was not prepared to analyze what might be better, and I was definitely deprived of any revolutionary fervor. When my friends discussed Bolsheviks and Mensheviks in my presence, I did not even listen to them; I did not pay attention; it was not interesting to me. I was not interested in socialism at all.

Return to Bessarabia; Travel to Rumania

Guins: When the university was closed in February, 1905, I returned to Bessarabia. One of the older students from Bessarabia asked me to go together with him. He told me that he had friends in Vilna and that we could stay there during the trip and also see Vilna.

I decided that this would be very interesting. I was interested in the city. It impressed me, in fact, from the point of view which always interested me, namely the multi-national character of this great empire. This is also the subject on which I am working just now: the history of Russia as a multi-national empire.

When we arrived in Bessarabia, it was early spring. Everything in Bessarabia was calm. There were no strikes; there were no disorders. The peasants in Bessarabia were very peaceful. Certainly there were some people who were in need, but the great majority of the peasants were more or less secure. There were even many among the peasants who were prosperous.

But just like the storm which you can detect from afar, so we could detect the revolutionary mood spreading more and more in the country. I was not surprised when one of

Guins: the rich provincial landlords, an Armenian, invited me to go with his family from Bessarabia to Rumania as his son's tutor. He was not sure whether everything would remain quiet in Russia, and he preferred to live outside the country for a while.

It was interesting for me to go abroad for the first time in my life. Our first stop was the Rumanian town of Jassy. In Jassy we didn't feel that we were abroad--it was so close to Russia. We left it very soon because the final goal of the trip was Bucharest, the capital of Rumania. It was certainly a more interesting place to live in because it was the capital of a kingdom.

I was very curious to be in Bucharest and, in fact, life there gave me some interesting impressions. I even saw the successor to the throne, Prince Carol, together with his instructor as they walked on the same sidewalk of the Calea Victoria, the main street of the Rumanian capital, as I and the family with whom I had arrived.

There were simpler relations in Rumania than in Russia. The Queen was a poetess and was very popular. She often visited public meetings and the theater.

In Bucharest I met a Russian political emigre. He told me that he was Russian but then asked, "Do you understand French?" Then he spoke to me in French. I understood that he was one of these people who were staying in Rumania but who were waiting for the moment when they could enter Russia without fear of being arrested.

From Bucharest there were connections with the members of the Bolshevik Party inside Russia who were being supplied not only with literature but with instructions and letters. He gave a letter to one of my friends in Kishinev who had connections with the socialists.

I don't know whether he himself was a member of the party, but he was very interested in socialists and in Marx and Engels. He told me about Lenin, whose figure was mysterious. I had heard the name before, but I must confess frankly that from the political point of view, I was at that time an ignorant man who did not know anything about the socialist parties and their programs.

Raymond: Had you at that time heard the name of Lenin?

Guins: Oh certainly, because the Bolsheviks and Mensheviks date from 1903. At the university there were many socialists and sympathetic or interested people who were not of the party. For example, the student with whom I lived was interested in politics, and he had conversations with many people about Bolsheviks and Mensheviks. But I was not interested.

Raymond: You heard the name Lenin mentioned during the debates in 1905?

Guins: Yes, I heard it. I was told that it was Lenin who insisted that the student strike was necessary because, from his point of view, there were students who were "politically conscious". At that time, in 1905, I am sure that Lenin was the leader of the revolutionary movement. He sent instructions to his adherents, the Bolsheviks, inside the country.

But let me return to my interrupted story. The family with whom I lived in Bucharest did not remain long there because the news which they received from Russia gave them new confidence in the security of their estates. At the beginning of June, I was invited to follow them to their estate and to continue to teach the boy in order to prepare him for the next class of the gymnasium.

So, I continued to live with these people on their estate not far from Kishinev, in a very picturesque part of Bessarabia. I found in the small library of the estate a complete collection of Leo Tolstoy. So, during the summer, I studied Tolstoy with great interest.

After the summer vacation, when the gymnasium opened and my pupil entered the gymnasium, I returned with the family to Kishinev. I was by then a convinced "Tolstovets". What interested me most about Tolstoy's writings was his desire to be closer to the common people, to live with them and to understand them.

So I returned with many new ideas in my brain. I remember that I thought that even to go to the barber to cut my hair--which the peasants did not do--was a kind of betrayal of the teachings of Tolstoy.

Educational Reforms

Guins: Since February, 1905, several liberal reforms were declared in Russia. The Emperor Nicholas II decided to establish the State Duma, as a consultative body consisting of the representatives of various groups of the population. One of the reforms reorganized the administration of the universities. In August, 1905, a statute of the Duma was promulgated.

When I returned at the end of August to St. Petersburg, the university was reopened, but there were many changes. The appearance and dress of our teachers had changed-- instead of uniforms they put on civilian frock coats and even ordinary coats--and also were changed the general conditions in the university. All sub-inspectors whose function was to observe the behavior of students had disappeared.

In the fall of 1905, new Ministers of Education and Internal Affairs were appointed. The change of the Ministry of Internal Affairs signified the change in interior policy to a more liberal one. The Council of Professors received the right to elect professors instead of having them appointed by the minister.

This reform was a restoration of the autonomy of the university, which had been given to institutions of higher learning during the period of the great reforms of Alexander II. Later, during the reign of Alexander III, when there was a period of reaction, the autonomy was suspended.

The restoration of autonomy was the reason why the professor's uniform disappeared, why the sub-inspectors disappeared, and why the police were deprived of the right to enter the university without an invitation from the rector. It was the right of the rector to take any measures on which he decided to stop disorder without inviting the police.

These changes were radical. What was also an important consequence of these changes was that some new professors appeared in the universities--those who earlier had no access to the university for political reasons. For example,

Guins: we had a professor of economics, already an old man, whose name was Georgievskii, who did not satisfy the progressive students because his approach to economics was very conservative. He did not teach the students Marxian theories and he did not say anything about the socialist economic system.

After 1905 we had besides Georgievskii another professor who taught simultaneously the same course, but on the basis of other ideas. This professor was a known socialist, Tugan-Baranovskii. He was a follower of Marx, but not completely. The strict Marxists characterized him as a "revisionist". Earlier he was not allowed to teach at the university.

Raymond: But after the reforms, the council of professors invited him?

Guins: Yes. He was invited by the council of professors. Another professor who became very popular since 1906 was Tarle, at that time a beginning professor of history. At present he is a very well-known historian. In 1906 he was a real hero. He gave lectures which attracted students from various departments. It was difficult to find even a place in the largest hall.

I remember how he finished one of his lectures about the revolution in France at the end of the eighteenth century. He said, "You young people can be sure that the next generation will study the events which are going on at present in Russia. And thinking about you, your children will say of you, 'Happy people--they were happy people.'"

The new academic year began as usual with the enrollment of new students. I began the second year as if the first had been completed.

Raymond: Did you have to take examinations?

Guins: Not at once. There were no first-year examinations at that time. The examinations were postponed up to the end of the fall session. In September, we had several meetings. As earlier, they were organized by the students without the participation of any professors. Lectures continued.

However in Russia in general, disorder was becoming more and more serious. Terrorist acts took place. Peasants' uprisings were accompanied with "illuminations," as the

Guins: setting of fires in the landowners' estates were then characterized. The return of the troops from the Far East after the conclusion of the peace was also accompanied by great disorders.

The October Seventeenth Manifesto

At that time Witte returned from Portsmouth and was appointed President of the Council of Ministers. He suggested to the Tsar the publication of a radical act instituting a legislative body instead of the consultative one that had been projected earlier.

October 17 was the day when the conservative or even reactionary group which surrounded the Emperor in Tsarskoe Selo surrendered. The October 17th Manifesto was a great concession to the revolution which had swept the country.

The next day after the publication of this act, or maybe even the evening of the same day, there was great animation in the capital. People invaded Nevskii Prospect to exchange opinions about the event. I remember that I met on the Nevskii Prospect a young attorney, Schmitt, whose father was the mayor of the city of Kishinev. We walked together and decided to enter a restaurant called "Polskaia Stolaia".

There were at that time many people; all tables were occupied and there was a great deal of animation. My friend told me that he would stand up and give a speech. I told him not to do that. He gave in to me and did not speak publicly, but in his conversation with me, he said, "Do you know it is already very conservative to remain in the party of Miliukov, in the party of the Constitutional Democrats? Now we should modernize our political views and choose one of the socialist parties."

I was very surprised. 'How is it possible,' I said to myself, 'to change one's convictions so easily just in order not to be too far from the extremists?' At that time my political views became more distinct. I understood that the Constitutional Democratic Party supported a program of

Guins: reforms which corresponded more than any other to my views, and the leaders of the C. D. Party impressed me more than any others.

Guins Begins Publishing

In Bessarabia there was a liberal newspaper, the Bessarabskaia zhizn. In this newspaper I published in 1905 my first article, which was devoted to the subject of university autonomy. I asked the librarian in Kishinev about the possibility to read something about university autonomy. She was a nice lady and gave me "Polnoe sobranie zakonov"--the complete chronological collection of laws.

There I found the acts of the great reform period, in which I could read the text of the autonomy law and then compare it with the new act. In this manner I had materials for an article which I offered to the newspaper and which was accepted and published. Thus I started my activities as a publicist.

During the long intercession between the interrupted spring session of 1905 and the fall session of the same year, I read many books, and when I returned to St. Petersburg I had been better prepared for the university studies than in 1904.

At the university I entered the seminar of Professor Tugan-Baranovskii. Among the active students of this seminar was Voitinskii. His participation was interesting. When he read his first paper about the difference between value and price, he treated it in a Marxist way.

I asked for the floor and began to oppose Voitinskii. According to my understanding, I argued, "value" was a psychological phenomenon. I was then already acquainted with the psychological school of economics, which was also called the Austro-Hungarian school and which explained the value of various kinds of goods from the psychological point of view rather than from the labor-time point of view.

Guins: One of the examples I used to defend my point of view was my impression when I was standing in front of a large stationery and art shop window on the Nevskii Prospect. I paid attention to the picture in which a Roman patrician had to choose between a beautiful vase offered to him and a beautiful slave standing next to him. So I said, "How would you define their price and value from the Marxist point of view?"

Tugan Baranovskii, although he was still a Marxist, found nevertheless that the teachings of K. Menger and Böhm-Bawerk deserved attention and that some kind of additions and corrections or amendments to Marxism would be necessary. He told me that I spoke very well, asked me who I was, and invited me to come to see him sometimes at Tsarskoe Selo, where he was living. I was glad to see him, and he made an appointment for a Sunday.

There I was one of his guests and he gave me one of his books. He was a generous man. When he published something, he gladly distributed many copies among his friends and students. He was a rich man, I suppose.

In Tsarskoe Selo he invited me to go to see the beautiful park, where Pushkin was a student of the lyceum and wrote many of his early poems. This was my first visit to such nice places in the surroundings of St. Petersburg and the first time I became so close to a professor.

Later, because of that, I was one of the organizers of one of the short-lived magazines of which Tugan Baranovskii agreed to be the editor. He received money from the university in order to publish symposia under the title "Voprosi obshchestvovedenie" (Problems of Social Science). But this took place later, in 1908. In the first issue there were two of my pieces.*

*See List of published works.

The Constitutional Democratic Party

Guins: In October, 1905, we had already come to the apex of the revolutionary movement, and it was difficult to maintain order at the university. For example, after dinner at the restaurant with my companion, the lawyer, we walked along the Nevskii Prospect across the Neva River to the university. We were surprised that all the auditoriums in the university were full of various kinds of people--not students.

There were notices on the doors: 'Here is the meeting of the bakers,' or 'Here is the meeting of the tailors.' At the door of one of the largest auditoriums we read, 'Meeting of lawyers.' We both entered the room and listened to some of the famous lawyers give their speeches in connection with great reforms which were contained in the manifesto of October 17.

The chairman of that meeting was Attorney Rodichev, one of the known members of the Constitutional Democratic Party. His speech impressed me as that of a man who had lost his head. He sounded like the kind of man who had lost his way and did not know where to go--whether to the right or to the left. Not like my dinner companion who had decided immediately that it was necessary to go to the left.

That meant that from the point of view of his party, with the October 17th Manifesto, everything necessary was now accomplished and they had to become conservative. Such was my impression.

Raymond: From your own personal experience, you noticed that the Constitutional Democrats, once they had won their demands from the Tsar for a Duma, became confused?

Guins: Yes. You see, the Constitutional Democrats, just like the socialists were on the left wing of the Russian intelligentsia. The party of the Constitutional Democrats was not recognized as a legal party, and many members of the party were exiled and forced to go abroad, Miliukov, the leader of the party, among them.

Until October, 1905, like Lenin, some of them were living abroad. Or, they continued to live in Russia but were limited in their political activities. Some of the members of the

Guins: C. D. Party were moderate, but they were embarrassed by the new situation. If now they would not demand anything else, how would they differ from the Tsarist government? And who became the hero of the hour? Count Witte, who suggested to the Tsar to publish the October Manifesto.

Student Support for the Party

Raymond: Professor Guins, I would like to ask you how the students of the university reacted to all these important events.

Guins: As I told you, the right wing among the students was not very well organized. They were not numerous and they had few conspicuous leaders. But I have to mention student reactions, and it is very good that you reminded me about it.

During the meetings which were organized at the university during the fall of 1906, we had on the rostrums student representatives of the Socialist Party and also of more moderate parties. For example, there was the Constitutional Democratic Party of students inside the university.

One of their leaders was Kuzmin Karavaev, whose father, General Kuzmin Karavaev, was a military jurist; that means he was a professor of the Military Juridical Academy and his field was criminal military law. And he was certainly a liberal in his convictions. His son became the representative of the students of the Constitutional Democratic Party of the university.

Another very respected student was Vilenkin. As much as I remember, his father was an advocate. I am not sure about that, but it seems so. Vilenkin, like Kuzmin Karavaev, was a very good speaker and a man of great personal dignity. Later maybe I will not have a chance to return to him, so I will now mention that he was executed by the Bolsheviks after the Revolution of 1917. He was a man who did not change his convictions. He was and remained a Constitutional Democrat up to the last day of his life, even when people began to hesitate to be such. So we had our representatives.

I have to mention that it was a kind of surprise that among the students at the fall of 1905, we had for the first

Guins: time several girls. At that time the university declared that it would enroll girls who wanted to become students and who had the necessary records.

Raymond: Before we leave the students--this is very interesting to me personally--may I ask you a few questions about the students at that time? For instance, you mentioned that there was university autonomy. Did the students have any form of student government such as we know it here? Did they have representatives?

Student Government at the University

Guins: Yes. We elected representatives if we belonged to one or another party of the students. And together, all these representatives composed the "soviet starosta"--the Council of the Elders of the student body.

Raymond: Was that something new that came as a result of the reform?

Guins: Yes. This was new as a result of the reform which was discussed by the Council of Professors and adopted and approved by the rector.

Raymond: In 1905?

Guins: Yes.

Raymond: Did you personally approve of this reform? Were you happy with the reform?

Guins: I personally? Certainly. I found that it was very reasonable. I was never a Socialist, and I was gratified by the existence of the representatives, who would speak in my name and support my attitudes or explain to me if something needed to be changed, etc.

Raymond: For what party did you vote at the university?

Guins: We did not have such a system of elections as that which exists in the American universities. As much as I remember, the leaders of various parties negotiated between themselves

Guins: and worked out a list of candidates and presented it to the university administration for approval. There was no voting in its direct meaning.

Raymond: As I understand, you did not support any party?

Guins: I did not because I was interested mostly in studies. After the summer of 1905 and 1906, when I studied many books, I had already various convictions and my own views, and I wanted to check better if they were correct or not and also to speak to professors about my views.

I followed once Professor Petrazicki after his lecture. It was quite usual after the end of lecture, when he was leaving the auditorium, that several students followed him. Some offered him various kinds of questions, and he answered; the others simply wanted to listen to what kind of questions were offered and how the professor answered them.

So once I was one of this group of followers, and maybe one of the last who offered a question. I remember that he reached a place where he could sit down, and he offered me to sit down beside him. Then I told him that I had read a lot of Tolstoy and that now I began to think it was necessary to begin to reject various kinds of my attitudes on the way to the "oproshchenie," (Tolstoy's admonition to live as peasants are living: poor dress, physical work, etc.).

"For instance," I told him, "I suppose that it is better going by train not to take the second class but the third class compartment."

"Why?" the professor questioned me.

"Because I am embarrassed to have a comfort of which a great majority of people are deprived," I answered, without mentioning that Leo Tolstoy liked to travel together with peasants in the same conditions. I supposed that he had to understand me without any additional comments and references to Tolstoy.

But Petrazicki answered me with a new question. "Did you travel abroad?" When I said that I was only in Rumania, he added, "If you will travel in France, I would suggest you to take a better class, and in Germany you can go in any one."

Petrazicki's answer surprised me. He even did not understand my sympathy for Leo Tolstoy's moral principles

Guins: and approached the question from a purely pragmatic point of view. However, only a short time later, when, in conformity with my ideas, I was in a coach of the ordinary train in which the passengers were mostly peasants who smoked makhorka (the cheapest kind of tobacco), I understood that Tolstoy could support such a company for a short distance between Moscow and Yasnaya Polyana, but to go from Moscow to Kiev as I did and suffer the whole day from headache was a painful experience. My sympathy for Tolstoy's idea about "oproshchenie" was shaken. I understood Petrazicki's answer.

Raymond: Were there many followers of Tolstoy among the students?

Guins: I did not know anyone among my friends, but I know that a group of students visited Tolstoy in his estate. That was probably in 1907. Tolstoy told them that he read Petrazicki's book and could not agree with him. "It is impossible," he said, "to justify law." In my legal works I emphasized several times that I could not agree with such a statement.

Raymond: Well, I interrupted you with my questions. You were going on to another subject.

Guins: Well, I discussed Kuzmin Karavaev and Vilenkin, and I decided that the representative system would be better because it was under a kind of constitution of the university, and at least all groups were represented. And we knew to whom we could appeal if we had any kind of objections to anything.

Raymond: But you yourself still would not vote for any kind of representative?

Guins: No. If I had been more active in this direction, I could have also been a candidate for one or another post. There were at that time several student politicians and outstanding leaders, such as Engel, who had been "elected" always as the chairman of the meetings. Of the speakers representing different political moods, the most popular were Voitinski, Vilenkin, and Gidoni.

Gidoni was the most eloquent. I remember how he cited Marx comparing the government to a fox with a shedding tail and to a wolf whose teeth became loose. Yet I was very surprised (and not only I myself) when we read in the newspaper that Count Witte had invited Gidoni to his home and had asked him about the mood of the students, their

Guins: expectations and programs, and, in particular, their demands.

Raymond: Was Gidoní an official representative on the "soviet starosta," the Council of Elders of the student body?

Guins: No, no he was not! He was simply a popular speaker at the meetings. But he was certainly the speaker who attracted the most enthusiasm from the audience because he was very eloquent, although not very persuasive as regards arguments and contents.

Voitinskii's speeches were intentional, and he developed his speeches very logically though not with such oratory as Gidoní. I thought it was not a happy choice of Count Witte, then president of the Soviet of Ministers, to invite a student who was not sufficiently serious. But it was very characteristic of Witte, who obviously was looking for mass popularity. 'He might go to the factories, for instance, and speak like a revolutionary,' said antagonists of the new head of the government. Maybe this is an exaggeration, but this was also my impression--that Witte looked for popularity.

Dismissal of Witte and Closing of the University

Guins: The people who surrounded the Tsar were not disposed toward Witte. The constitutional act of October was considered in the circle of courtiers as something the emperor should not have signed, and it was Witte who was considered responsible for this act.

It was not surprising, therefore, that a short time after the October Manifesto Witte was fired and Goremykin, a very conservative man, was appointed as the President of the Soviet of Ministers. Of course when I am speaking about the changes of the government, I am speaking from my point of view.

I was surprised by the dismissal of Witte as were the great majority of my classmates and, I should say, the great majority of intellectuals in Russia in general. We could believe that Witte was a man of great experience. He was known as a very good finance minister, minister of the ways of communications, and finally as a diplomat during the

Guins: negotiations with Japan in Portsmouth in the U. S.

But now Goremykin, about whom we had verses like, "Gore mykali my prezhd--gore mykaem teper," which means "Misfortunes we suffered before, and misfortunes we suffer again," because "gore" means in Russian "misfortune," and "mykat" means "to suffer." So his appointment was an act which I considered as reactionary.

The university was closed soon, this time not by the initiative of students but because the government found it expedient to move twenty thousand students away from the capital.

Raymond: Oh, that's very good! When was this, Professor Guins?

Guins: It was soon after the October 17th Manifesto.

Raymond: A few months later?

Guins: Not a few months--several days or a week or so.

Raymond: Was Count Witte fired immediately after the manifesto was issued?

Guins: Very soon after. I am afraid to be not exact as far as the dates are concerned because it has been sixty years ago.

Raymond: Yes. We can check the dates in the history books.

Guins: That will be better, because sixty years separate me from the events about which I am speaking, and I am not prepared for many of the questions which arise in the process of interviews.

Raymond: Was everybody surprised by the replacing of Witte with Goremykin and by the closing of the universities?

Guins: Yes. Everybody was surprised. It was, of course, the decision of the government groups that it was necessary to fulfill what was promised by the October 17th Manifesto and let the nation elect representatives, but not to let the revolutionary movement extend. So they undertook serious measures in order to extinguish the fire.

Raymond: Why would the government close the university, in your opinion?

Guins: Because it was difficult to maintain order. It certainly was not the university administration which opened the university for all these meetings for the professional unions having nothing in common with the student body. Simply, the rector did not wish to call the police and wished to prevent violence.

Raymond: Oh. The students, in effect, almost took over the university?

Guins: Yes. Even before the October Revolution there was a great disorder at the university. I can remember that we had a doorman at the student entrance. This doorman was a very impressive old man with a big white beard, and he would welcome every student with a deep bow, saying, "Welcome," with all the eloquence he could express.

But during the first week of October everybody entered-- students, non-students, people without a student uniform (the student uniform also was not popular at that time). Since the professors changed their formal dress for ordinary civil dress, the students also neglected theirs. I heard the doorman say once, "At present such people are entering the university that I don't know how to support my neutrality. I don't know whom to welcome and whom not to welcome." And he could not decide whether to continue to wear his livery or not.

Raymond: What did you do after the university was closed?

Guins: Let me first relate a story characterizing the conditions of that troublesome period. It would probably be of interest to say that every student enrolled in the university received a certain number in the cloak room. In St. Petersburg during the cold winter as well as during the rainy period, one had to leave his overcoat, galoshes, and umbrella there. You can imagine the size of this room if we had several thousand students. It was therefore necessary to have a constant number secured for each one. There was also a special man who served a certain number of hangers and who personally knew his clients. If somebody wanted to find one or another student, he had only to say his name, and it was possible to find out what was the number and place of the hanger of that student.

Once when I came to take my overcoat, I was told that there was a lady who had left me a letter. He told me that in a manner expecting that this would be of great pleasure to me. He did not know the lady who came. I opened the envelope

Guins: and was very surprised because this was the first time and still more when I opened the letter and it proved to be from the wife of a relative on my mother's side who lived in Odessa and in whose house I lived every time I went from Kishinev to Odessa.

There were two sons of my uncle--my cousins. One was of the same age as I and the other three or four years older. It was the mother of these cousins who wrote that she was here with my elder cousin, Boris, and she suggested that I call them at such-and-such a number by telephone. Certainly I did that, and it was amazing what she told me.

My uncle in Odessa was a rich man. I probably mentioned that he had sold his estate in the neighborhood of Odessa a large place in Odessa where there was a house in which he was living and several new large apartment houses. In one of the latter, he gave an apartment to his older son, a student, who was older than I. And then what happened; what occurred in this revolutionary period?

This cousin Boris left his apartment and did not close it because he promised to his classmates and friends that they could organize a small meeting in his apartment. He did not wish to attend this meeting since he was not a member of this circle, which was, in fact, a revolutionary organization.

When he was out of the apartment visiting his father, which was very rare, he asked that his father accompany him to the cafe in the center of town. A policeman approached them saying that he had an order to arrest the young man. The father asked why. "I don't know myself what namely," he said, "but this was the order I received." The police looked for the young man, knew that his father usually visited the same cafe at that time and thus found there both father and son.

It became known later that when there was a meeting in the apartment of my cousin, somebody in another apartment heard a shot of a pistol.

Raymond: With a pistol? With a gun?

Guins: With a pistol, as much as I remember. When the man who heard the shot entered the apartment of my cousin, he found a girl killed in the empty room. Later it became known that she was a member of the Socialist Revolutionary group and that

Guins: she was shot because she had to be executed after she betrayed the order of the party to commit an act of terrorism.

The details remained unknown, but a letter which the police managed to get informed them that the party decided to kill one of the great administrative persons in Odessa and that this girl was selected to carry out the orders of the party.

She told her parents when she left that she probably might not return soon. They were surprised at her unusual excitement. They asked her why, and she replied that a very important problem had to be discussed and that she did not know how long it would take. So she knew that something would happen when she declared that she decided not to carry out the orders. One cannot explain otherwise why her companions shot her.

It was not unusual that the terrorist party executed those who did not fulfill plans of a revolutionary character. Maybe it was not Lenin's party because he did not believe in individual terror. But I could believe that it was the revolutionary party.

Raymond: Was your cousin Boris a member of that party?

Guins: Nobody among the family members knew that, and he did not say that he was. He felt sympathy for the revolution and simply allowed his apartment to be used without knowing exactly who would be present. He explained to the police that he could not have foreseen what happened. He did not know what these people had to discuss. It was the first time that they had asked him, and when they told him that the meeting was of a political character, he decided to leave.

Raymond: Was he put in jail?

Guins: They did not have any more to accuse him with than complicity. Maybe because of the influence of his parents, he was only exiled from Odessa to one of the northern provinces. As I remember, it was Lodeino-Pole. Sometimes my memory betrays me, but I could not possibly invent such a name. It was Lodeino-Pole in the Olonetski government (province). Anyhow, he arrived with his mother, and he had to leave the next day.

So I heard this story, which certainly amazed me, and I could not sympathize with such acts at all. On the contrary, that story antagonized me still more against the political extremists. But to reveal the conditions of life

Guins: in the country, such events are, or may be, very interesting from various points of view. Anyhow, the university was closed.

By the way, I can relate to you another story that happened during this period. It was of quite another character and happened in the university. I had a student uniform which was prepared in 1904 at the time when I graduated from the gymnasium. The story is about the overcoat.

Raymond: You mentioned that your mother bought that.

Guins: Yes. My mother paid for it. It was very good for St. Petersburg as it was sufficiently warm.

Raymond: Would you describe that uniform, Professor Guins? Did you have two different kinds of uniforms, one for the summer and one for the winter?

Guins: For the summer we did not have an overcoat, because I was going to Bessarabia where it is hot in the summer.

Raymond: How did the uniform look?

Guins: The overcoat had gold-colored buttons on the arms and dark blue ribbons on the collar.

Raymond: Was the coat black?

Guins: Yes, it was black.

Raymond: Did you have a student hat?

Guins: Oh yes. We also had a hat with a blue band in the middle part. It was not really a band, but it was made from blue thick-cloth. We called this kind of stuff "drap." It was very nice. And the upper part was black with blue piping.

Raymond: Did it have a visor?

Guins: Yes. The other part of the uniform consisted of a double-breasted jacket also with blue thick-cloth ribbons on the collar.

Raymond: What kind of pants did you have? Did you wear boots or shoes?

Guins: Shoes.

Raymond: The pants were long?

Guins: Certainly.

Raymond: Just ordinary pants?

Guins: They were made of a dark blue or simply black thick-cloth. The jacket was usually black, with the same buttons as on the overcoat. This jacket was called "tuzhurka." It could be also grey. I remember that I had a grey one.

Raymond: Why grey? Different colors for different departments?

Guins: No. Grey mostly for the summer.

Raymond: Did you wear a belt outside of the shirt?

Guins: Many students, maybe even the majority of them, used to have under their jackets long shirts called "tolstovki," because Leo Tolstoy wore such shirts, girding himself with a belt or a colored wide cord. I wore such a one as every day dress, using a white starched shirt while going to the church or theater where one wants in general to have a smart appearance.

Raymond: What about a full-dress coat? Was it not established, as a kind of uniform?

Guins: Oh yes. It consisted of a short black-blue jacket with a stand-up collar, a double row of gilded tabs, and a sword passing through the right pocket of the coat.

Raymond: You did not have that?

Guins: No. Very few students had that; I would even say they were the exceptions: the rich people and those interested more in appearance than in learning. But let me return at present to my story, which has a connection with the students' dress.

I had a good overcoat. Once in the evening I was in the university. The cloak-room was closed in the Economics Library, and I had to read there a book. I found that it was not decent to take everything which I had to the room where people were working. So I left it in the class which was just beside it. When I left the library to go home, I did not find it.

Guins: Then one of my classmates suggested me to go to the rector and tell him that and he would probably reimburse me because the university was responsible for security. I did it, and Rector Borman, professor of physics, told me that we students were responsible for these kinds of events. He said, "Earlier we did not open the doors for everybody. Who demanded to have the doors open for everybody? And now who is entering?" And he refused to reimburse my loss.

Never again had I as a student such a good overcoat as that which was stolen. Later I had to buy a cheap one. But this was not so important as compared to the general conditions in Russian universities at that time.

I remember that students did not only take their overcoats when entering the university, but they also kept their galoshes on to be sure that they would not be stolen. Such were the conditions in Russia at that time at the university. Such a mixture of people! Such lack of security for everything! It was therefore probably a wise decision of the government, not of the professors, to close the university. It was closed up to the end of spring of 1906.

Raymond: What did you do in all this period?

Returning Home via Moscow

Guins: Well, let me relate what all I did returning from the university. First of all, returning home to Kishinev, I had chosen an itinerary through Moscow where I had never been earlier. When I arrived in Moscow I had an address of a friend of the family. I was met by them and invited to spend several days at their home.

My hostess told me when I arrived that at that very evening they would have a very interesting meeting, and, if I wished, I could follow them. What kind of meeting? They said that they did not know themselves because these kind of meetings were organized without police permission and therefore nobody knew what would be there. It was kind of risky,

Guins: because one could be arrested there if anything anti-government was going on.

After the manifesto of October 17th, it was probably not necessary to be so conspiring. Simply, one could prefer not to have such a meeting at his home, because all these meetings had to be declared beforehand, and that was connected with certain formalities. Neither did those who had to speak want to let everybody know beforehand that they would appear.

An undeclared meeting looked like a simple gathering of numerous guests having no conspiratory character. That was in fact the meeting to which I was invited, and it was a very interesting meeting and quite legal from every point of view except that there was no permission. The meeting to which I was invited was organized to listen to a very outstanding artist of the Moscow Art Theater who read the new story written by a popular writer of the time--Leonid Andreev.

The title of the story was "Tak bylo tak budet"--"Like it was so it will be." And the lecturer pronounced these words in such a manner that everybody was already impressed with the fact that something would be predicted. But there was not a kind of prediction in this story, simply a restoration of one of the episodes of the great French Revolution. And this "Tak bylo tak budet" was like the accompaniment of a large clock, "Boom, boom, boom."

I don't remember the story exactly, but it was certainly quite consonantal. One certainly can find it in the collected works of Leonid Andreev. Listening to the story, the audience understood that the author reminded them that the French Revolution was not the last one and that the same dramatic events and episodes would happen many times over.

I have recounted this evening in Moscow to characterize the revolutionary atmosphere of 1906 in Russia. Nobody violated the meeting. Everything was completely orderly, and we left with the impression that this had been a very interesting meeting.

In several days I left Moscow. This time I did not have such comfort as I usually had when I was going to the University in St. Petersburg from Kishinev and back by

Guins: express train from Odessa to St. Petersburg. In the express every passenger even in the third class received for a moderate additional fare a possibility to sleep in a lying position. Although it was a third class, which according to the terminology of the Soviet period belongs to the category of "hard," not "soft" coaches, it was very convenient for sleeping.

Legal Studies at St. Petersburg University, 1906 - 1909

Raymond: Professor Guins, you became privat-docent of the St. Petersburg University. Could you tell me about your law studies?

Guins: I remember that my university life was the happiest period of my life. All my colleagues, whom I had occasion to meet after our graduation, still keep the same feelings of respect, devotion, and gratitude.

We had to pass examinations on a certain number of courses (for the law students, seventeen) obligatory for all, besides some additional ones as free choice. But it was not necessary to attend lectures. There was no control. The texts prepared and published by our teachers were excellent, and it was possible to pass examinations without attending lectures. We used that system for more intensive work in the field of a special interest.

I was mostly interested in the theory of law, civil and commercial law, and economics. One of my friends attended lectures on state law and international law; another one the lectures on criminal law. But for intensive studying it was not enough to attend lectures. There were the so-called seminars. The latter were of a different type of class.

Professor Petrazicki, for example, did not read in advance the papers prepared by the members of his seminar. Maybe it should not be called a seminar but rather public discussions on various subjects. Petrazicki did not preside. Sometimes he occupied a place among the listeners. Everybody could offer questions to the reporter or ask for the floor.

Guins: The reporter answered the questions and criticisms, if any, but the final word always belonged to the professor. And it was always a wonderful final word.

Petrazicki analyzed the main theses of the reporter and of the opponents and their approaches to the problem, and he offered his conclusion, after which the whole problem became sometimes elucidated, sometimes simplified, or sometimes complicated. It was a wonderful treatment for the participants and listeners and significant assistance for advanced students.

Raymond: Did you present your papers at that seminar?

Guins: I can but smile at present, remembering my debut. I dared characterize law as a reflection in human behavior of the cosmic tendencies to harmonize the vital forces and strivings of an individual with opposing forces and to establish stabilized interrelations, just as in the surrounding world the natural forces find a kind of coordination after tempests and collisions.

Some listeners approved my approach, but Professor Petrazicki recommended that I distinguish natural forces from spiritual phenomena, as the latter are motivated by different ideas and principles and depend on individual psychology.

My other paper was devoted to the problems of the social and economic significance of various provisions of the civil law. This second paper was a kind of application of the method applied by Petrazicki for analyzing the project of the new German Civil Code, which was later put in force as of January 1, 1900, the so-called B. G. B.

Petrazicki did not criticize my approach, but he indicated that not all provisions of civil law could be analyzed in the same manner and recommended to me to study a certain provision from all points of view, including the history of law, the different systems of law, and to analyze contrary opinions and different doctrines of specialists.

I followed his suggestion and, in conformity with the advice of another professor, dedicated my time to the problem of the specificatio. It proved to be very instructive. I found a book written in German by a Russian scholar, Sokolskii, on that problem and enjoyed his discussion of the

Guins: influence of the ancient philosophical theories on the formulation by the Roman jurists of their decisions concerning that small problem.

The seminar of Professor M. J. Pergament on the civil law was of quite another kind. Only selected students and some graduates who were preparing themselves for professorship were admitted to take part in his seminar. Before presenting a paper for discussion in the seminar, it was necessary to present it for approval by Professor Pergament.

I am very obliged to him. He knew very well German and French civil law and taught us the comparative method in jurisprudence and required the knowledge of the best works of the foreign civilists. Because of that system, his students could easily adapt themselves to the legal system of any country and, after the revolution, to practice law abroad in Germany, France, and China. It was more difficult for them in the U. S. A. and Great Britain with their "case law."

Of approximately the same kind was the seminar on the commercial law, which was organized by Professor A. J. Kaminka, who was not only a professor but also one of the directors of the large Azovsko-Donskoy Bank. His seminar took place in his private apartment.

Distinguished Professors

Raymond: Who were the most distinguished professors of the College of Law, besides those already named by you?

Guins: I am afraid that I will not be able to remember some of the celebrities. Almost all of the disciplines which were included in the list of the required courses were represented by outstanding teachers. Economics was represented by M. T. Tugan-Baranovskii, whose theory of economic crises and whose history of the development of Russian industry are widely known.

The history of Roman law was represented by J. A. Pokrovskii, who published, besides his special works on the various subjects of Roman law, an excellent book of the fundamental problems of civil law in which the main trends

Guins: of modern legislation on civil law were set forth.

Lectures on financial law were given by Professor Ozerov, who illustrated his lectures with the aid of graphs on the blackboard and who was familiar with the financial systems and national economies of many other nations.

Constitutional law was taught by Maxim Kovalevski, well known in the Western countries as a sociologist and lecturer. He gave lectures in the U. S. too.

International law was taught at first by Professor Martens and, after his death, by Professor Baron M. A. Taube. One cannot disregard also such an outstanding scholar as Professor I. J. Foinitskii, a great specialist in the field of criminal law and procedure. His participation in the international conferences on the problems of criminal law had always been welcomed, as he was one of the conspicuous representatives of that special branch of law. In Russia he was simultaneously a senator (member of the Supreme Court).

In connection with my reminiscences about the St. Petersburg University, I want to emphasize that still in the middle of the nineteenth century there was no legal science in Russia. For various reasons, mostly because of the existence of serfdom and the backwardness of the judicial system, any independent teacher could be considered, from the point of view of the conservative government, as a dangerous propagandist.

But after the reforms of Alexander II everything was changed, and during one or two decades after the reforms several young jurists who graduated cum laude from various universities were given a chance to continue their studies of law in Germany. At the University of Berlin, the Russian government established a seminar under the leadership of the best professors of the Berlin university. Those who accepted this offer and returned from there became outstanding professors. Petrazicki was one of them.

Thus, since the last quarter of the nineteenth century, legal science in Russia has been recognized as a branch of the universal legal culture.

Raymond: Were there outstanding professors of law in the provincial universities too?

Guins: Moscow University was on the same level as the University of St. Petersburg. In Kiev, Kharkov, and Kazan, there were not so many outstanding scholars, but in general both these universities became famous as scientific institutions. I could not say that about all others, for example the universities of Odessa and Tomsk, but the Russian government did not hasten to increase the number of institutions of higher learning at the expense of their quality.

Universities in the two capitals enjoyed some advantages. They received larger appropriations, and some rich people were leaving capital for supporting students with scholarships. They provided better libraries and laboratories and, last but not least, they were more attractive for the young people. But in every university there were some great scholars who liked their university and place of living and did not prefer to move to Moscow or St. Petersburg.

Raymond: Did you know personally, Professor Guins, some outstanding professors of humanities in the St. Petersburg University?

Guins: Yes. I attended lectures of such professors as the historian S. F. Platonov, N. I. Kareev, philosopher A. I. Vedenski, and the comparatively young man at that time, N. O. Losskii. I knew the professor of ancient Russian literature, Shliapkin, who was so fond of ancient Russian culture that he was able to detect by intuition various works of art bricked up in the walls of the bell towers.

I liked to attend the lectures of Professor V. A. Vagner on zoopsychology and comparative psychology of people and animals. My interest in these problems found reflection in my work Social Psychology.

Lectures of the academician Lappo Danilevskii on the methodology of history suggested some cautiousness to me in using various evidence. The three post-revolutionary years, 1906 - 1909, were the most productive from the educational point of view. During that period I acquired a rich and variegated erudition.

Dissertation

Guins: At the same time I succeeded in preparing a special research work on the subject "The Juridical Persons." Every year several subjects were announced for competition. For my work on this subject, I was awarded a silver medal, which I have succeeded in keeping up to the present time.

I wrote my work during the spring and summer of 1907. According to the regulations of the competition, the professor who reviews such a paper does not know who is its author. The name of the author was indicated in a sealed envelope under the designation indicated on the paper. There were established three kinds of awards: gold medal, silver medal, and an honor certificate.

Decision about awards had to be approved by the faculty in conformity with the review of the professor who offered the subject. Students who passed examinations with high degrees and were awarded medals of either gold or silver, had a privilege of receiving the diploma of the first grade without presenting a dissertation required from all the candidates for the diploma of the first degree. These award winners were usually also given a chance to get a scholarship during the following years of education and preparation for professorship.

Raymond: Could you tell me more about your paper? Was it a kind of dissertation?

Guins: I can say--yes! It was typed and consisted of about three hundred pages including bibliography. I used literature on the subject in three languages: German, French, and Russian. I set forth the theories of different periods, beginning from the Roman jurists, and then the medieval--including Pope Innocent IV or VI (I do not remember which now)--and finally the modern jurists.

I set forth also my own point of view, according to which the legal capacity of juridical persons was acknowledged in the same manner as the capacity of children and other persons whose acts have no legal significance but whose interests might be represented and protected by other persons. The whole theoretical complication arose, as I explained it, because of the Roman formulation that "omne jus hominum causa institutum est" ("Law exists in the interests of people").

Guins: This sentence was explained very narrowly as an assertion that only people may be subjects of law, although "hominum causa" means "in the interests of people." The development of social interrelations made normal the inclusion into the list of subjects of law various kinds of organizations, such as corporations and foundations.

The review of my paper was printed in the annual report of the St. Petersburg University of 1908, if my memory does not betray me. I received the silver and not the gold medal only because I committed an important error in terminology on one of the last pages. That I believe occurred because I had a very short time for typing and presenting my paper after my return to the university from Bessarabia.

In the village where I was living and working during the summer there was nobody who could type for me, and I had to give my work for typing in St. Petersburg in a special office. Typewriting machines were still a rarity.

Raymond: Did you keep your paper?

Guins: No. Leaving Petrograd in January, 1918, I did not take it with me. The whole of my library and furniture remained in my apartment, in which my sister continued to live for several months. Later, it was occupied by strange persons, and I never got them.

I could not reproduce my work in Harbin, Manchuria, where it was impossible to get the sources which I used to prepare my paper, which could otherwise have been transformed into a dissertation. I wrote another dissertation.

Classmates

Raymond: Could you add something more about your university life?

Guins: In general I want to emphasize that in the University of St. Petersburg there were students from all parts of Russia and from all the various peoples. Among them there were many outstanding men. No wonder that it was possible to meet a number of friends of a high intellectual level.

Professor P. Sorokin, an outstanding sociologist at Harvard, was my classmate. V. S. Voitinskii, the economist

Guins: who died in Washington D. C. and whom I have already mentioned as one of the active revolutionaries during the period of the first Russian revolution, was an active member of the seminar headed by Professor Tugan-Baranovskii. Voitinskii could have certainly become a professor of economics.

Krylenko, known as "Comrade Abram" during the same period, is better known as Glavkokryl, Commander-in-Chief after the October revolution. But there were many others whose names will probably be forgotten but who deserve to be mentioned. I will additionally mention several from among those with whom I cooperated in the seminar of Professor Petrazicki.

First of all, two young philosophers and brothers, A. and N. Boldyrev. They were living in the Anichkov Palace on the corner of Nevskii Prospect and the river Fonatnka, a tributary of the Neva. Their father was a general attached to the staff of His Majesty's Office (Cabinet) in whose jurisdiction was the management of the imperial estates. Both young men were extremely intelligent and gifted.

Another was Shulgovskii, a poet and eccentric. His aunt with whom he was living had business connections with the large publishing house of Marx, which published the magazine Niva, which had a circulation over the whole country. Shulgovskii published a book which at one time was known to all Russian poets. It was devoted to the theory and practice of poetry.

Among the members of the seminar was also M. Lazerson, who received a gold medal at the university for his paper on the natural law. He was a professor at Riga University after the Revolution of 1917 and later at Columbia University in New York. He published some works in Russian and English.

I want to mention also Boris Elkin, who became Attorney at Law and practiced in Berlin, Paris, and London. He is an author of some excellent articles of both historical and political content. As executor of P. N. Miliukov's will, he succeeded in finding a publisher of the last version of the Miliukov surveys on Russian culture (Volume I).

Publication of Problems of Social Sciences

Guins: The name of Boris Elkin reminds me of an undertaking in which we both cooperated while students of the St. Petersburg University. It was a symposium which appeared under the title, "Voprosy Obshchestvovedenie" (Problems of Social Sciences). Only two issues of that publication were published, both under the editorship of Professor Tugan-Baranovskii.

He was the only professor who agreed to take part in that publication in which, according to the idea of its founders, the articles and papers of advanced students were to be published for developing new problems and ideas of young scholars. Tugan-Baranovskii convinced the faculty to appropriate a certain amount for publishing the first issues. But he hoped that he would not be the only scholar to give some of his short sketches for publication among the articles of students, thus attracting the attention of the periodic press and assisting circulation.

In connection with that undertaking, I survived some funny things. Once Professor Tugan-Baranovskii invited me to come to him for dinner, during which we were supposed to discuss some details concerning the forthcoming issue of the symposium. He gave me his new address in one of the aristocratic regions of the capital on Iurshtadtskaia Street and indicated the hour of the dinner, asking me to come earlier.

I came on time, and he invited me to a study room just beside the living room which we crossed together. There was nobody in the living room. But during our conversation of a business character, we began to hear exclamations and conversations in the neighboring room, which left no doubt that it was becoming full of people.

I had the impression once that somebody slightly opened the door and instantly closed it. Afterwards we heard less and less voices, and finally it became quite noiseless. Obviously people left the room. It was the time of dinner, but we were not invited. Tugan-Baranovskii nervously jumped up and left the room. In some minutes he returned and invited me to the dining room.

We sat together at the end of the table, at whose head was sitting the hostess, a beautiful lady. There were very

Guins: many people sitting at the table. Evidently the professor had invited me but did not warn his sister or the wife of his brother. I was not introduced and did not know in whose house I had been. Tugan-Baranovskii was located at that time at his relatives'. It was too late for me to leave, and I remained at the table, but "pour faire bonne mine au mauvais jeu" I declared that I had had dinner earlier. In fact I was hungry but did not take anything except probably dessert.

During the dinner we continued our conversation, but not about the symposium--about some academic circumstances and impressions. It happened that a common conversation proved to be interrupted just at the time when I related to my host a story about an experiment illustrating the conditional significance of evidence in the form of witnessing.

My voice became the only audible one, and I had therefore to start from the beginning and relate how a professor of criminal procedure secretly arranged a quarrel between two of the participants of his seminar. After the quarrel he asked all witnesses to leave the room and invited them one after another to relate how the incident occurred. Almost all the evidences were given differently, and it became very difficult to decide who was right and who was wrong.

Obviously the hostess and her guests listened to the story with interest. Conversation continued later as usual, but there was no more the feeling that somebody strange had taken a place at the table, and I continued my private conversation with the professor.

Among the problems we discussed was one about who among the professors would agree to give something for the projected symposium. Tugan-Baranovskii suggested that I go to Professor Maxim Kovalevskii, who was living not too far from him. He called Kovalevskii after the end of dinner and asked him to receive me.

Kovalevskii answered that he would wait for me. I was surprised to find him at dinner with his friend, Gambarov, professor of civil law who taught in the Economics Department of the Polytechnic Institute and who was a member of the State Council. Professor Kovalevskii occupied a large apartment and had several domestic servants. A butler brought dishes from the kitchen and was standing behind his master

Guins: suggesting to him from time to time what to eat with what. I had to decline to join my new host at his dinner, as I was supposed to be coming after a "dinner" with Tugan-Baranovskii. So I missed a dinner for the second time.

But my anecdote is not exhausted with such misadventures. I became a victim of the naivete of Professor Tugan-Baranovskii, who evidently was sure that everybody was as simple-minded as he was himself. When Kovalevskii was informed by me about the project of the symposium and its content, he was very surprised that anybody could expect to get something for that symposium from him.

"What a matter!" he exclaimed. "I can imagine," he continued, "how my friends the European scholars who provide me with their books and articles from all parts of the world would be surprised if they found a student symposium with Kovalevskii's article in it. They probably would suppose that I cannot find a more distinctive place for my scholarly opus."

I tried to explain to him that the symposium would contain something either quite new, as, for example, comments on the new theory of law offered by Petrazicki, or some essays on the modern problems of social and political developments, as, for example, one of the proposed articles concerning labor grievances and the new European legislation on industrial relations.

"What kind of new theory of law did Petrazicki offer?" asked Kovalevskii.

I answered, "But you have written not so long ago an article in the newspaper in which you supported Petrazicki's approach to the study of law in his book The Theory of Law and State."

"Oh, yes," laughed Kovalevskii, "but I read only the first chapter of the book." Later he asked me what was my field. I explained that I was interested mostly in the theory of law but that my major was civil law. "Well," said Kovalevskii, "here is a specialist in your field." He explained that his guest was Professor Gambarov, whom I did not know before.

During the conversation which followed, I had to say that I had received a silver medal for the research on the theory of juridical persons, and I asked Gambarov what theory on this

Guins: subject did he share. I do not know why, but Professor Gambarov could not answer my question. As a matter of fact, my visit and conversation proved to be unsuccessful. I missed two dinners and did not acquire any new contributors to our projected publication.

I do not remember whether it was the next day after my visit of some time later, but anyhow it was very quickly after my visit to Kovalevskii that I was told by one of the members of Petrazicki's seminar, a young man, Mr. Magaziner, who was close to Professor Kovalevskii, that the latter ridiculed my visit to him. Soon afterwards, Professor Pergament informed me that Kovalevskii related about a student Guins who came to him on the recommendation of Tugan-Baranovskii and invited him to collaborate in a students' publication.

Laughing loudly, he told that during the conversation Guins reproached him for superficial reading of Petrazicki's textbook and also "examined" Professor Gambarov on some problems of civil law. It became thus a real academic anecdote.

However, I must add that both Magaziner and Pergament, relating the story to me from their part, added that Kovalevskii was wrong. But they advised me to be more cautious in speaking with such persons as Kovalevskii, a man of world reputation who can ignore some elementary rules of academic ethics.

As for Gambarov, I was informed that he was a senile man who had begun to forget some of the problems which still attracted the attention of young beginners.

I found their suggestions to be cautious advisable. Of course I could not understand the psychology of such persons as Kovalevskii. He was a man with exclusively great education and experience, who published valuable works on customary law of the Caucasian mountaineers, on sociology, and on constitutional law.

He was giving lectures in Paris, London, and New York, not to mention a number of other countries and cities. During his lectures at the University of St. Petersburg he mentioned many outstanding scholars and politicians whom he knew personally and related his personal impressions during his contacts with the people of various countries.

Guins: He lived for a long time abroad, because he was forced to leave the Moscow University for his liberal views. When he returned and was elected to the State Council, he refused to join the Cadet Party of Miliukov, for he did not wish to be dependent on the man whose authority could not be equal to his own. He founded his own small party in order to remain independent.

The memorable story which I have related to you proved to be instructive for me from two points of view: first, that it is necessary to distinguish people to whom you are speaking, just as it is necessary to be cautious in giving answers to complicated questions. We jurists follow very often a precept recommended in French, 'Il est a distinguer,' and the same in German, 'Es muss unterscheiden.' Before deciding to answer definitely, try to determine the complexity of the problem.

I wish to add that having experience in the contact with various people, I began to follow the same precept before deciding whether it was proper to offer one or another question and express my own opinion or reserve my opinion. I have noticed that diplomats are usually following that precept more exactly and successfully than other people, including myself.

Let me add that Professor Tugan-Baranovskii was quite a different man from Kovalevskii. His attitude toward students was such a one as if they were thinkers of his rank. At the same time, he was not a steady man. I saw him in Tsarskoe Selo dressed in the "tolstovka," a shirt over the pants, and he did not change it when leaving the house for walking in the park. Another time I met him on the Koniushennaia Street in an expensive overcoat entering one of the best restaurants, Medved. Now he was a proletarian and socialist, now a "barin" (landowner).

According to his convictions, based on the Marxist dogma, he believed that socialism was an inevitable stage of human history. But I doubt that he could imagine the socialist system as proper for himself and to be a staunch fighter for socialism.

Raymond: May I ask you whether the publication of "Voprosy Obshchestvovedenie" proved to be successful?

Guins: We succeeded to publish two issues. Circulation was limited, but both issues contained some interesting materials. I was

Guins: glad to know that the first of these issues was in the Library of Congress. My participation in organizing and publishing it gave me a certain experience as regards the conditions of publication and editing. Professor Tugan-Baranovskii was a master of that art.

Summer Work in Turkestan

Raymond: When did you graduate?

Guins: In December, 1909. But before relating my impressions concerning the final examinations, which had a special name of State Examinations (Gosudarstvennye examniny), I have to relate one more story which took place before these final examinations and predetermined inexplicably my future life and destiny.

Raymond: This should be very interesting.

Guins: I began to prepare myself for the State Examinations expecting to graduate in May, 1909, five years after my enrollment. Let me remind you that all students of my age who had enrolled during 1904 and 1905 lost one year because of the revolutionary movements of that time and because the university was closed during that time for approximately one year.

We lost certainly not only one year (every course consisted of two sessions and was adapted for one academic year), but also a chance to attend systematically some important courses from the beginning up to the end. As for me, I lost six months more before my graduation. I had to pass the examinations in May, 1909.

Once in the second half of April of 1909, I was walking from the library along the famous corridor of the St. Petersburg University when I met there one of my teachers, Professor V. M. Nechaev, who was giving lectures on the new German civil law. He was also editor of the Journal of the Ministry of Justice and was a legal counselor of that ministry.

Guins: He noticed me from afar, and when approaching me he welcomed me and said, "I am glad that I met you. Tell me, would you like to go to Turkestan?" I wish I could have seen myself after I heard such an unexpected question. I hardly answered anything and was standing open-mouthed as Professor Nechaev added, "You are surprised, but I was asked to recommend a young man who could go to Turkestan for the forthcoming summer season and study there the legal relations of the people who are using the same source of water for irrigation. I did not know," he added, "whom I could recommend, but when I noticed you walking along the corridor, I thought, 'Well, why not Guins?'"

"But I have to pass the final examinations," I muttered.

"There will be a new examination session in November and December, and you will graduate then. The offer is alluring indeed, and such an occasion will not be repeated. Once you decline the chance it will be definitely lost."

It is hardly necessary to explain that I agreed. In a short time I received a fat travelling allowance and a certificate that I was appointed a temporary hydrotechnical agent of the Semirechenskogo Pereselencheskogo Upravleniia (The Resettlement Administration of the Semirechenskoe Region in Turkestan).

I was told that as a candidate recommended by the university professor, I must decide myself how to approach the research. It was explained to me that I was engaged as a technician because of the absence of certain necessary credits, but that the local administration would be informed about the real purpose of my appointment and I would be quite free to work out my own plan of work when I arrived to the city Vernyi, the administrative center of the Semirechle region.

At the end of April, 1909, I left St. Petersburg, but before leaving I started my research looking for some leading provisions in the Code of Laws of the Russian Empire. I found a law of water relations in the Transcaucasian area issued in 1890. The officials of the Resettlement Administration did not suspect the existence of such a law.

Having received *carte blanche* concerning my itinerary and program, I decided that my first step must be a visit to Tiflis for studying there the existing practice of the twenty

Guins: years of the application of the law of 1890. Such an itinerary let me at the same time visit my mother and fiancée before leaving for several months in such an exotic and distant part of the empire. I left for Bessarabia, visited my relatives, and continued my journey on board a steamer along the northern and eastern seashores of the Black Sea.

I had thus a chance to see Crimea, to be in Yalta, to admire the beautiful shores of the western Caucasus including Gagra, Sochi, Sukhumi, and, finally, Batum. From Batum I crossed by train to Transcaucasia and stopped in Tiflis, where in the Transcaucasian Administration of Waters I studied the materials concerning the application of the water law.

I crossed afterwards the Caspian Sea from Krasnovodsk and arrived in Turkestan. After a stop in Samarkand, I arrived in Tashkent, where I found many interesting materials concerning the water problem.

On reaching Vernyi, the main center of the administration of the Semirechie region, it became necessary to go without comfort on a "kibitka"--on horses by relay for a week, moving day and night with short stops.

I do not wish to relate my impressions in detail, but I find it necessary to emphasize that as a citizen of such a spacious and variegated empire as Russia, my journey gave me an idea about how complicated were the problems of the government of the Russian empire and of the administration of the separate parts of the empire.

I had lived for a long time in Bessarabia with her mixed population, but the population of the cities was Russified, and the multi-national composition of her population was not so noticeable as it was in Tiflis, the administrative center of the Caucasus. Neither was it so noticeable in Odessa, where the population was more mixed than in Kishinev, for a great part of the population belonged to the same race. But in various parts of the Caucasus, and still more in Turkestan, a Russian like me felt himself as though in a strange country.

My assignment to Turkestan definitely let me feel the multi-national character of the Russian empire. I understood the significance of Islam in Russia and of the Moslem culture. Never would I understand better than I did after my journey across the Caucasus and Turkestan the influences of the Eastern culture on the development of Russian culture. These

Guins: impressions later increased and assumed a more distinct form after the revolution when I was living in Manchuria in a close contact with the Chinese and their culture.

But I do not intend to set forth all my ideas and conclusions, as some of them were already expressed in my articles devoted to the problems of Russian history and culture (mostly in the Russian Review) and partly in my surveys on Russian and Chinese ethics. These problems are also the subjects of my present research and projected book: Russia--A Multi-national State.

Raymond: How did you return to St. Petersburg?

Guins: I wanted to see something new, and besides I had to hasten, remembering about the forthcoming final examinations. I left, therefore, via Orenburg and Samara. That was the shortest way. But before reaching Tashkent, I was moving again--now on horseback--in the "kibitka." I decided to cross the mountain range and to visit the town of Pishpek (at present called Frunze).

At that time a systematic resettlement of peasants from the European Russia had been started there, and the problem of irrigation of the new area had become acute. Specialists explained to me that in that region the people were more sedentary than in the middle part of Semirechie, where I had travelled during the preceding period.

I was surprised that I was not informed at once about that; it explained to me that in the regions densely settled the problem was not about the reasonable and just distribution of water but about the construction of dams and reservoirs for getting new sources of water during the season of agricultural work. Given money and engineers, there would be no problem about a just or unjust distribution of water. A general administration for exploiting and distributing waters was necessary first of all for planning and building new irrigation canals.

I left Tashkent by the train in the direction of Orenburg. During two days we could see almost the same barren, monotonous landscape. One of the occasional fellow-travellers was an agronomist, Vorotnikov. He told me that the soil and climatic conditions, including deficiency of water, frequent winds, clouds of dust, all made the area unfavorable for agriculture but that it was rich with various resources and was very promising for the development of industry.

Guins: To my former ideas concerning the free Russian spaces I added one more: the necessity of enormous capital, of scientists and engineers, and finally, of manpower. This required a systematic preparation and a gradual approach.

I returned to St. Petersburg at the end of August.

Raymond: Were you glad to return to the capital and to your habitual way of life?

Guins: After so long an absence from the European Russia and from the capital I could not accustom myself all at once to the noise of the incessant movement of carriages and to life in an apartment with a bathroom, a lift, and a doorkeeper. For a while I continued during the night to imagine myself on the roof of a Turkestan inn, feeling the light breath of the night air and hearing the bells of the approaching caravans.

I could not forget my impressions of the life of the native people in Turkestan, and later I described some of them in two surveys, published in the Istoricheskii Vestnik, 1911 and 1913. There was a large contrast between the capital of the great empire and the spacious Russian province on the eastern border of Turkestan and between life in St. Petersburg and life among the nomads. It was necessary for a while to get accustomed again to the civilized world and to other conditions of life.

It was first necessary to prepare a report about the results of my four months traveling in the Semirechenskaia oblast and then to prepare myself for the final examinations at the university.

I am holding in my hands a small book with the title The Water Law in Turkestan and the Future Law on Water. That was my report, a little enlarged as compared to the original, which was originally presented to the chief of the Resettlement Administration, the so-called Pereselencheskoe Upravlenie.

The chief told me some time later that he found my report interesting and quite satisfactory. He offered me to join the staff of the Resettlement Administration. He was very surprised when I told him that I had first of all to pass the final examinations at the university.

Final Examinations

Raymond: How did you pass the final examinations?

Guins: I passed the examinations quite successfully. The procedure of the final examinations differed from the ordinary examinations in Russian universities, which were usually organized at the end of every session. The final examinations preceded graduation from the universities and the awarding of university diplomas to those who successfully passed them.

The final examinations had the name of "gosudarsvennye" (state) examinations and were carried out by the commission of professors, headed by a chairman who had to be invited from another university. He presided over a commission and was an arbiter in cases of disputes.

During the examinations of Commercial Law in St. Petersburg University in December, 1909, Professor Tsitovich from the St. Vladimir University in Kiev was chairman of the examination commission. In conformity with the grades received by the students during the final examinations and their grades received earlier, they were awarded the diploma of the first or of the second degree.

For getting the first degree it was necessary, besides, to present a special paper on a legal subject chosen by agreement with one of the members of the commission or by another professor of the university, and approved by the commission and its chairman.

Raymond: Why was such a procedure established?

Guins: Because first, it was prohibited to examine one and the same person more than three times; second, to prevent partiality in appraisal and patronage; and third, because the university diploma secured according to the law gave one the right to become a government employee, with a certain rank for those who wanted to start the public service.

By the way, those who received a medal for a research work in the university, as I did, were free from the obligation to present one paper more. So I received my diploma as soon as it was ready and signed.

Marriage

Raymond: Did you start your public service immediately?

Guins: Almost immediately, in the middle of January, 1910. I decided that I had a right to rest, and I wanted to visit my mother in Kishinev as well as my other relatives. From Kishinev I returned to St. Petersburg, rented an apartment, and then went to Tver, where my fiance was living at that time. We were married there on January 10, 1910.

Raymond: Who was your bride?

Guins: I knew my future wife for several years before the marriage. She was one of the two sisters of a student of the gymnasium in Kishinev from which we both graduated.

She looked like a small girl, but in fact she was only five months younger than I was. We liked each other from the first. Later she was in St. Petersburg for a while and attended the university, when it became accessible for women, and lived with the sister of another one of my friends from Bessarabia. So we met each other in the capital.

Raymond: While you were a student at the university?

Guins: Yes. We decided that as soon as I graduated from the university and got a position, we would marry.

Raymond: What was her last name?

Guins: Her maiden name was Prokhnitskaiya. Her ancestors had a double name--Korchak-Prokhnitskii--according to the documents which occasionally survived the revolution. These documents, which lost any legal significance, are, however, interesting as historical relics.

They are in my desk; I will show them to you. Look! This large one, as you can see, is a "gramota" issued during the reign of Nicolas I. There is a crown and below the crown the initial of the Emperor. The text is written in Polish and certified by the "shliakhetsky marshal." In the gramata, as it is written at the head of the text, are mentioned the years 1785, 1801, and 1832, the dates when Prokhnitskii's rights of nobility were registered in the

Guins: Kievan government.

Now this second document is an extract from the sixth part of the register of the noble families in Russia, and among its contents is the geneology of the family Prokhnitskii. You see here the family coat of arms in six colors. The text of the document asserts that the privileges of the ancestors of Prokhnitskii's family were acknowledged in 1451 kashtelianom Prehemyshlia, that the family name Korchak-Prokhnitskii was known and mentioned in 1361 and was approved by Vladislav Jagelo in 1400, that the ancestors of that family emigrated from Italy, escaping as thousands of other families the tyrannic regime, and that their ancestors were princes and possessors of the estate "de Bibel!"

Raymond: So your wife is of Polish extraction?

Guins: Very far back. Her father was an officer of the Russian Army who married a girl in Bessarabia, half Bulgarian and half Moldavian, just as my grandmother was. He was the head of a large family. His Army salary was not sufficient for him. He retired, therefore, and at the time when I became acquainted with the family he was an employee of the "gorodskaiia uprava"--the city government--of Kishinev. His salary was then larger than that of an Army lieutenant-colonel.

The first name of my wife is Emilia, and her patronymic is Lvovna, from Lev, like Lev Tolstoy. The sister of her father, her aunt, was living in Tver, which was not so far from St. Petersburg. For that reason our wedding was performed in Tver.

PART III. PUBLIC SERVICE CAREER

The Resettlement Administration

A Brief History of the Administration

Raymond: After your wedding in Tver you returned to St. Petersburg and had to report for duty? In what ministry did you start your public service?

Guins: I was invited to join the Pereselencheskoe Upravlenie (the Resettlement Administration). It was a part of the Chief Administration of Land Organization and Agriculture. This central institution was one of the ministries which had to change its name three times since its establishment.

Originally its name was the Ministry of Domains, established by the Emperor Nicholas I in 1838 with General--later Count--Kisilev at its head. The main purpose of the new institution was to make experiments on the lands belonging to the state and tilled by the so-called gosudarstvennye krestiane (state's peasants), namely to organize state's peasants' settlements as individual communities (obshchina), each one having its own land with the right to distribute it among the peasants' families in conformity with the number of members of the family.

The experience of that ministry proved to be very helpful later for the committee which prepared the historical reform of the abolition of serfdom in 1861. After that reform it became necessary to support the development of agriculture, and the Ministry of Domains was reorganized into the Ministry of Agriculture. In 1905-1906, at the head of that ministry was Ermolov, an old and respected statesman, but already not sufficiently active if at all.

In the meantime, the government decided to start a very significant reorganization of peasants' economy, starting the so-called "land organization" (zemleustroistvo) whose

Guins: chief purpose was to encourage distribution of peasants' community land (obshchina) among the individual peasant families.

Raymond: Was the "zemleustroistvo" suggested by Stolypin?

Guins: Yes, it was his initiative, and he was the most determined supporter of that reform and at the same time of the encouragement of the voluntary resettlement of land-starved peasants in Siberia and Far Eastern regions. He supported the purchase of private estates from the landowners through the newly organized Peasant Bank for selling these lands on terms very profitable to the peasants.

During several years of the application of these reforms, a great improvement of the conditions of life of many millions of peasants took place and stimulated them to work with the utmost industriousness. Production of grains increased, the purchasing power of farmers widened and expanded the market for industrial enterprises and, at the same time, the liquidation of the "obshchina" was accompanied by the exit of a certain part of peasants to the cities, raising the manpower supply for the development of industry.

In conformity with these reforms, it was decided to reorganize the Ministry of Agriculture into the Chief Administration of Land Organization and Agriculture, into which the Pereselencheskoe Upravlenie was simultaneously transferred from the Ministry of Interior Affairs.

Raymond: Why was the former ministry renamed instead of just adding to the former name--the Ministry of Agriculture--the additional words "and Land Organization"?

Guins: I expected this question. Of course this would have been the most simple and consistent decision. In fact everything, besides the name, remained as it was before in the Ministry of Agriculture. All former departments continued their functions, and the new functions connected with the land organization were joined with the former functions of the Department of the Domains as it was at the time of the Emperor Nicholas I.

Such an organization could serve as evidence that there was in fact no reform but only a simple change of name. And it was not only unnecessary from the point of administrative expedience but even contradicted the usual practice. Instead

Guins: of organizing new ministries, the Russian government of that time used to assign a certain ministry or a certain department of a ministry the responsibility to organize and control a new branch of the national economy or a new function.

For example, when the government began to show more interest in regulating the fishing industry and in the development of fish breeding, an expert was invited by the Department of Agriculture, and gradually a new section in that department was organized under the name "Rybnyi otel" (Fisheries Branch). Later, in connection with the resettlement and land organization, it was decided to organize fire-proof housebuilding in the villages. For that purpose a new section was organized under the name "Otel ognestikogo stroitelstva" (Fire-proof Building Agency) as a special organization at the Chief Administration of Land Organization with a limited staff of specialists.

Raymond: What then was the main motive in reorganizing or, as you have emphasized it, Mr. Guins, in renaming the Ministry of Agriculture?

Guins: The only reason was to find a decent pretext to replace Ermolov without offending him. The Ministry of Agriculture disappeared and there was no vacant post of minister for Ermolov. He was appointed, therefore, to the State Council. It was one of the highest compensations.

Raymond: But if he was not an active person, what kind of public benefit could he be in the State Council?

Guins: There were at that time two categories of members of the State Council: those who were nominated to attend its meetings, and those who were only on the list of candidates for active participation and who could fulfill various other assignments.

This division was a result of the reorganization of the State Council after the publication of the law of April 3, 1906. In connection with the establishment of the State Duma, the State Council became an upper legislative and not only consultative body as it had been. As an upper house it consisted, according to the new law, of the two groups of members, one elected by several different groups like nobility, clergy, academic organizations, commercial organizations, and zemstvos, and the other half consisting

Guins: of the members of the State Council appointed by the Emperor.

The number of the appointed members was not limited earlier. It exceeded the number of members that it was necessary to have for participation in the meetings of the Council, and the Emperor had to choose those whom he assigned to take part in the meeting in conformity with a number equal to the number of the elected members. A list of those who had to work in the State Council was published before the opening of the session. In such a manner Ermolov could fulfill only some special assignments, if any.

Raymond: Who replaced Ermolov?

Guins: I do not remember exactly. It seems to me that the first was Kutler, later Stishinskii, and, when I was appointed, A. V. Krivoshein. He was earlier the chief of the Pereselencheskoe Upravlenie (Resettlement Administration, which was then a part of the Ministry of the Interior, as I have mentioned.

According to Stolypin's plans, resettlement and land organization were closely connected, and the whole staff of the Pereselencheskoe Upravlenie was transferred to the Chief Administration of Land Organization and Agriculture. The staff of the Pereselencheskoe Upravlenie was enlarged.

When I was invited to join its staff, I was promised an appointment to the position of the *Chinovnik Osobykh Poruchenii* (Officer for Special Assignment) of the VII category. It was higher than I could get according to the obsolete laws. As a graduate of the university with the diploma of the first degree, my rank was of the Xth degree, and I had a right to a position not exceeding the VIIIth category (two degrees higher).

Such a regulation remained in force almost in all other departments of the Glavnoe Upravlenie of Land Organization. But the Pereselencheskoe Upravlenie, as several other newly established institutions at that time, was exempted from such limitations and had the right to appoint Officers for Special Assignments to the VIth category in conformity with their competence.

Due to such an exemption it became possible to appoint various experts to the positions of higher ranks than they

Guins: could usually occupy in the government institutions. Yet I was not an expert, and the chief of the personnel office insisted that I had to pass a preliminary stage of preparation for service, so I was officially appointed for the VIIth degree one year later, and received up to that time a salary of 100 rubles as a candidate.

Initial Experiences in the Administration

Raymond: Professor Guins, can you tell me about your first days in the government service?

Guins: After my arrival from Tver to St. Petersburg with my wife, I came to the Upravlenie, as I promised earlier to my new chiefs. I was informed that the beginning of the service started at 11:00 a.m. You should not be surprised. St. Petersburg is a northern city, and in the early morning it is sufficiently dark. It was not the same in the provincial cities, where office time had been from 9:00 a.m. to 3:00 p.m. In fact, as I soon was informed, the life in St. Petersburg government institutions was subject to a particular regimen.

For the first time I came very punctually and was surprised not to see anybody in the room which was indicated to me earlier as the place of my service. Only several minutes later there arrived a "journalist", the employee who every day registered newly received papers and documents in a special book with indication from whom the papers were received or where and to whom they were dispatched. In other words, using the bureaucratic terminology, he kept in order the so-called "entry" and "dispatch" journals (vkhodiashchikh i iskhodiashchikh bumag).

Only at 11:30 a.m. and later did some new persons appear. I had to introduce myself as there was nobody who knew me. I asked why everybody comes so late. The answer was very simple. If we had something urgent we came earlier, but not usually earlier than 11:30 or even later as the real work begins when new papers are prepared for distribution.

Some assignments are given, but if anything is urgent, we do not leave the office until everything is ready and all assignments are fulfilled. Our chiefs, it was said, arrived

Guins: always later, sometimes at 1:00 p.m. or later, but they left the office much later than the others if it was necessary.

Raymond: Were they compensated for overtime?

Guins: No! The principle of the public service in the Russian Empire was that every officer received not a payment for the working days and hours, but a salary. Salary was supposed to correspond to the significance of the job and to the cost of existence.

In the central government institutions or special and additional service, the system of monetary awards was established. At spring time, and in December before the Christmas holy days, certain amounts were distributed among the employees. These awards usually surpassed a monthly salary. There were, besides, special awards like medals or promotions in ranks or in categories as additional encouragement, opening the door to upper positions and correspondingly higher salaries.

But let me relate other reasons for which during my first day of service my future co-workers in the office came later than usual. "We had a banquet yesterday," one of them told me, a co-worker who proved to be an assistant to the chief of the section. "The banquet was in the honor of one of our former officers who left our department as he was promoted and transferred to another government institution."

My chief came only after 1:00 p.m. He told me that he had no work for me for the moment and gave me a book containing a collection of laws and regulations relating to the resettlement of peasants and to the organization and duties of the Resettlement Administration. He advised me to study that book.

Dealings with the Peasants

Guins: I followed his advice and began to read the book, which was not only a collection of laws relating to the resettlement but also administrative instructions and orders. Besides this, I had nothing more to do for several days, until I received at last from my chief several petitions from

Guins: peasants who were already in Siberia and who addressed their requests to the Chief of the Resettlement Administration.

I read with interest these handwritten requests expressing confidence in the benevolence of the superior chief and his unlimited power.

What action did I have to take on these petitions? There were three possible alternatives, one of which I had to choose. One was the most responsible--to prepare a project of satisfying or of declining the request with corresponding motives expressed. Another more cautious approach could be dispatching the request to the local administration for its appraisal of feasibility. Finally, the most simple was to send the request to the local administration and ask it to do what they found the most reasonable.

My decision could not be decisive. I had to present it to my direct chief or to the assistant of the chief of the department. Sometimes the latter declined my project. I have to add that the director of the department not seldom read himself the peasants' requests and suggested how to react to them.

The department tried to emphasize to the local administration that peasants' requests and demands could not be ignored. On the other hand, the requests written in an illiterate form, with some very original expressions and wishes reflected naive beliefs in the omnipotence and benevolence of the "great chiefs."

Raymond: Were you satisfied with such a kind of work, Professor Guins?

Guins: I should say that it was a kind of preparatory school. It was, for example, the easiest way to act as far as peasants' requests were concerned, to dispatch them to the chief of a corresponding local region. But it would be a pure bureaucratic attitude toward the vital interests and sincere confidence of the petitioners.

On the other hand, it was not reasonable to overload the local agency with a lot of papers--this could be another type of bureaucratic work. For finding out a right way it was necessary to make acquaintance with the character and activity of the local agents and to understand the local conditions, the needs of the peasants, and whether or not

Guins: the possibilities and resources of the local agencies were satisfactory for satisfying the peasants' requests. All this required a certain time for orientation, and certainly a more durable time than for the acquaintance with the collection of laws and regulations.

There was another important information which should be acquired by a novice in the bureaucratic institution. It was necessary to become acquainted with the correlation between various departments of the same ministry and between the departments or ministry and other central institutions. Only those who are working inside one or the other institutions begin to understand the structure, functions, and, what is the most significant, the interrelations of various government institutions.

My impressions during the first year of the service were very rich as regards the correlations between the bureaucratic institutions, because the Resettlement Administration had connections with various local and central government agencies.

Varied Assignments

Raymond: May I ask you, Professor Guins, what other kinds of assignments you received besides passing on the requests of the peasants?

Guins: We used to receive some requests from our local agencies. Once I had to answer, for example, whether a hereditary noble had the right to receive a lot of land as a new settler. The problem was that according to the law in force there were some special lots of land larger than the ordinary for the noble persons, and the local agency had no such lot available for the petitioner who, in turn, agreed to get an ordinary lot. It was an interesting case which could have different decisions depending on interpretation of the meaning of the law.

As a jurist, I received once an assignment to prepare for the next day a new instruction to replace an obsolete one. I was embarrassed, but my chief explained the technique to me. You have to begin with the study of the existing and decide what is still vital and what is obsolete. Then you rewrite those articles which you have found obsolete or replace them and let the typist follow the existing text with your suggestions about deleting, correcting, or including the text in conformity with your new plan.

Guins: I did it. Almost everything was accepted and approved. Such a lesson was not only practical; I took it as a new philosophy supporting the idea of evolution instead of revolution, of a respect for what exists and does not contradict the new conditions. Consequently, I understood the necessity to be very cautious in any kind of reforms.

Another interesting and instructive experience was my participation in the committee composed of the representatives of several ministries (Mezhdovedomstvennaia Komissia), for discussing the project of law relating to the use of the water resources of the Turkestan. I was interested in that legal project, whose purpose was to secure the government's right to use water resources for irrigation to increase the area prepared for new Russian settlements.

The government had to establish a new administration to plan and carry out new reservoirs and canals, to regulate the distribution of water, and to improve the system for its more economical use. As the organization of new government institutions demanded new appropriations, the Ministry of Finance was interested in the project of law, and its representative was invited to take part in the discussions.

The Ministry of Defense was also represented in the commission, because the administration of Turkestan was under the War Ministry and it was interested in securing the needs of the native peoples and preventing dissatisfaction and conflicts of interest between the native people and the new settlers.

For all these reasons the committee was composed of representatives of several ministries, including the Ministry of Justice and a representative of the State Chancellery (Gosudarstvennaia kantseleiia). Such a system simplified the further legislative procedure--the approval of the project by the Council of ministers and later by the Gosudarstvennaia Duma and Gosudarstvennyi Soviet.

The projected law was worked out by Mr. Flexor, the officer of the section of the G.U.Z. and Otdel Zemelnykh Uluchshenii called Reclamation Department, under whose control had been the Administration of Water Resources. Participation in that committee let me make acquaintance with many officials of the various central institutions and with the legislative procedure. I found that this procedure was too complicated.

Guins: The commission was once attended by General Kuropatkin, earlier Minister of War and at that time appointed the Governor-general of Turkestan. He was interested in the project of water law, and, as he explained, in the organization of special institutions for exploiting water resources of Turkestan.

In his person I had, for the first time, an occasion to see an old statesman--self-confident, clever, and determined. He was the unsuccessful commander-in-chief of Russian armies during the Russian-Japanese War, but he was an excellent administrator.

Chief of the Administration - Privy Counsellor Glinka

Raymond: Professor Guins, did you meet many other interesting persons during your service in the Resettlement Department?

Guins: Oh, yes. First of all my main chief, Privy Counsellor Glinka, who headed the Resettlement Department.

Raymond: Was he related to Glinka, the composer?

Guins: I don't think so. But they both were born in the Smolensk government and were either Ukrainian or Bielorrussian stock. Grigorii V. Glinka looked like one of the Zaporozhie Cossacks on Repin's picture 'Zaporozhtsy pishushchie pis mo sultana,' with his moustaches bowing down and the hair on his head a little dishevelled. His literary style was simple but expressive.

He was on good terms with the members of the State Duma and knew how to satisfy his chiefs, Minister A. V. Krovoshein and the minister's assistant. He was not born to become a courtier, and when Minister Krivoshein before his resignation introduced Glinka to the Emperor as a possible successor, Nicholas II preferred Count A. Bobrinskii. Glinka was a good chief of the Resettlement Administration and finished his bureaucratic career in the position of assistant minister and senator.

As I told earlier, Glinka always paid special attention to the peasants' requests and demanded the same from his officers in the department. From time to time he made the rounds of all premises of the department and asked everybody what he was doing. Various remarks and reproofs at the time

Guins: when he was in bad humor later provoked laughter, but nobody remained offended. Glinka did not wish to do it.

Once during the meeting with General Shmidt, Governor-general of the Steppe region of the Transylvanian territory, Glinka characterized Cossacks as "drunkards." Having noticed a shadow of irritation on the face of the general, who had been simultaneously Ataman of the Siberian Cossacks, Glinka immediately added, "I can say that as I am a drunkard myself." Everybody smiled and the meeting continued friendly.

Another time when the same governor-general told Glinka that one of the new settlers in the Akmolinskaia oblast tore the portrait of the Tsar, Glinka looked fixedly at the general and told him expressively, "Your High Excellency, it is impossible! We never hear here in the capital anything like that." The governor-general understood at once that such stories should not be related, to avoid various complications.

There was no bureaucratic spirit in our department nor in any others of our ministry. The staff consisted of intelligent and conscientious people. Not all worked with enthusiasm, but all executed their obligations quite successfully. Employees of the type described by Gogol and Dostoyevskii no longer existed in St. Petersburg. They disappeared since material conditions of the civil service were improved and the choice of employees became more exacting. Neither were there the purely bureaucratic institutions in which routine dominated and attitude to the functions of the institution had a most formalistic character.

Outstanding Officials

Raymond: Were there any outstanding officials in your institution?

Guins: There were. I have to name, for example, Ivan Ivanovich Tkhorzhevskii. His ability to set forth any official text in a condensed and at the same time excellent literary form was amazing, and he did it without fail. He succeeded in executing all his functions as an assistant to the chief of the department, Glinka, and at the same time to write poems, to attend horse races, to be a member of the aristocratic, so-called English Club in the capital, and to have close connections with high society.

Guins: Tkhorzhevskii characterized himself as a master of the "manufacturing, not of the extracting" industry. When Stolypin's and Krivoshein's journey to Siberia was proposed, Tkhorzhevskii received various materials from several departments and prepared a very interesting paper, the "Zapiska of the Premier Stolypin and Minister Krivoshein on their inspection journey in Siberia." These were published and presented to the Tsar and distributed among the high officials and members of the State Duma and State Council. I later became Tkhorzhevskii's co-worker and learned much from him.

I cannot enumerate all gifted officials and officers with whom I worked or whom I met, but many of them are worthy of being mentioned--V. Litvinov-Falinskii, for example. He was Inspector of Industrial Relations (Fabrichnyi Inspector) when I met him first, and the Chief of the Department of Industry of the Ministry of Commerce and Industry when I visited him for discussing the abolition of patents granted to the Germans.

This problem was included in the agenda of the Council of Ministers, and Krivoshein was interested in its expediency. Litvinov disapproved of that project, as it could not be justified by "the interests of the state."

My general characterization of St. Petersburg bureaucracy was published in the form of an article in the symposiums Den Russkogo Rebenka, Vypusk XXII, April, 1955, published in San Francisco.*

When I started to work in the Resettlement Department I had to fulfill the functions of the so-called "dezhurnyi chinovnik," (Official on Duty). My functions consisted in receiving visitors and either informing them about whom they should address their requests to, or in reporting to my chief, Glinka, if somebody wanted to see him and asking whether he would receive them. Among these visitors there were sometimes interesting people.

Once it was a man who called himself Tolstoy. I did not pay attention to his last name. After he was received, Glinka told me that it was Count Andrei L'vovich Tolstoy, one of the sons of Leo Tolstoy. The appearance of Andrei L'vovich was so ordinary that it was difficult to imagine that he was a son of the famous writer and thinker.

Another time it was a general who simply called himself Schmidt. As a son of an officer and brother of an officer I knew well the officers' shoulder straps, and the name Schmidt

*See the attached list of published works.

Guins: was very well known to me as the name of the governor-general of the Steppe region. It was just that part of the Transylvanian territory which had been together with Turkestan within the province of the section of the Resettlement Administration in which I worked.

Because of my acquaintance with the current problems of the Steppe region, I could guess that the governor-general had arrived in St. Petersburg to discuss the conflicts between the local agency of the Resettlement Administration and the representatives of the Siberian Cossacks, whose ataman the governor-general had been ipso jure.

I instantly reported to Glinka about the arrival of General Shmidt, and he was immediately received. The governor-general had a right to report directly to the Emperor, but the latter would not interfere in the relations among local authorities. Rather he would recommend to the governor-general to address himself to the War Minister, and the latter, in turn, would ask the governor-general himself to settle his problem with the Resettlement Administration.

The problem arose because of peasants who were the so-called "voluntary settlers" (samovolnye pereselentsy). These had moved into the Transuralian zone by their own initiative and had occupied certain parts of the so-called "desiativernaiia polosa."* There had been no clear demarcation of that strip of land and naturally it would have been a ruthless and inadmissible act to force the peasants out of the land they had appropriated supposing that it was no man's land.

Such a spontaneous movement of peasants looking for better land was not encouraged by the Resettlement Administration, but nevertheless the department supported the interests of the settlers, while the governor-general who was also the Cossack ataman naturally supported the interests of the Cossacks.

The problem was discussed in a special committee and was settled on the basis of the prevalence of the state interests over any others and a possibility of compensation to the Cossacks for the lost land when the problem became real and not purely theoretical. It was during that discussion that Glinka called Cossacks "the drunkards."

*A strip of land, ten versts wide, along the river Irtysh, which had been granted to the Sibirskoie Kazachievoisko (the organization of Siberian Cossacks).

Guins: Another interesting committee was organized for discussing the problem of the religious needs of the peasants of the Roman-Catholic religion. Bishop Tsepliak, who represented the Roman-Catholic Church in Russia for a long time before the Revolution and afterwards participated in this committee.

Raymond: Professor Guins, can you tell me about any interesting interrelations between your department and other government agencies?

Guins: Such connections were numerous, and I hardly could enumerate all of them. Besides, I could not know personally about them. For example, I know that there were close connections between our administration and the administration of the Peasants' Bank, which acquired land from the private landowners.

Very actual and vital connections existed with the Gosudarstvannaia Duma, and those for many reasons. Many peasants from various parts of the European Russia were resettled in Siberia and the Steppe region. Naturally many members of the Duma were interested in their destiny, in the conditions of their lives after resettlement. This was the first reason.

The second: there were some of the Duma deputies who took part in the budget commission of the Duma and who wanted therefore to be familiar with the work of the Resettlement Administration and its financial needs before approving its budget.

I remember the name Voshchinin, who was secretary of one of the commissions of the Duma in which the problems of the Resettlement Administration were usually discussed.

On the other hand, the Resettlement Administration was interested in popularizing its activities and for that purpose a temporary exhibition was organized in St. Petersburg, which contained many graphs characterizing the mass migration of peasants from the European to the Asiatic Russia and the progress of the colonization of various regions in Siberia. There were also pictures of the new villages, of the stores of agricultural machines for supplying the new settlers, of schools, hospitals, and churches which were built in various centers for the needs of resettled peasants.

This exhibition allowed visitors to have an idea about the results of the resettlement program.

Larger Plans of the Resettlement Administration

Raymond: Professor Guins, may I interrupt you here. I remember many, many years ago my grandfather was talking about the Stolypin reforms and discussing them from the point of view of what a very important step these reforms and especially the resettlement was to have in creating a new class of farmers in Russia. You were right in the middle of the administrative apparatus dealing with this resettlement and would have much information about this.

Could you tell me something of the larger plans of the Resettlement Administration?

Guins: Well yes, the whole system was very elaborate. Probably I characterized it already in a short form.

I am glad to say that before directing peasants to one or another part of the spacious Siberian Far-Eastern and the steppe regions, each region was very intensively explored from various points of view. Botanists studied the kinds of plants growing there in order to determine what plants could be cultivated there. The geologists studied the soil from the same point of view--how fertile it was and what consequences could be expected from its cultivation. Irrigation, for example, had to be studied, because not every soil could retain water without spreading it. Some kinds of soil could raise salt hidden depths.

Specialists in various kinds of economy explored the region from various points of view, as, for example, what kind of additional income the peasants might be able to get. They studied the possibilities of a fishing industry, or forestry, or various kinds of demands for manpower, and the way communications existed and how they might be developed.

Raymond: Were there many special agencies under the Resettlement Administration?

Guins: Not agencies. There were seasonal workers, mostly students who were working under the supervision and according to the instructions of scientists. There was, for example, Professor K. Glinka (not a relative of our chief), a soil scientist; Professor Flerob, a botanist and experienced statistician who had attracted a number of very capable and intelligent young men, mostly students.

Guins: I remember well several of them: Bogdanov, Dubenetskii, Fedoseev, and Tresviatskii. Several of them became later my very valuable co-workers during the civil war in Siberia. You probably have heard from me about my fellow-travelers during my journey from Tashkent to Vernyi (at present Alma-Ata) in the Semirechie--botanists Ptashitskii and Rozhevits. Both of them were employees of the Botanical Garden in St. Petersburg.

I should say that there were enthusiasts in the central agency too. In the same room where I was working there was a section within whose province was the Far-Eastern region of the resettlement. At the head of that section was Alexei Tatishchev. He belonged to an old noble family. He graduated from the privileged institution of higher learning, the Alexandrovskii Lyceum, the same one where Pushkin had studied, but he later transferred from the Tsarskoe Selo to the capital.

Tatishchev was a very industrious, capable, and intelligent young man, and he could get a promotion to higher position by remaining in St. Petersburg. But he was interested in the field work, and he asked for an appointment to the provinces. He became the chief of the Maritime region for the resettlement of the Far East, with residence in Vladivostok.

Together with me in the section which guided the resettlement to the Steppe regions and Turkestan, there was also a young man named Tripolskii. Just like Tatishchev, he asked for an appointment to the province and received one in Tobolsk.

Raymond: What was their fate after the Revolution?

Guins: Many years later, when I was in Europe, I met Glinka in Paris and he told me that Tatishchev died prematurely and that Tripolskii was employed by the Belgian government in the Congo where he, as Glinka told me, "Applied Russian methods of resettlement to the colonization of the Congo."

I want to say that some of the young men whom I have mentioned as seasonal workers of the Resettlement Administration--Fedoseev, Bogdanov, Yagolkovskii--were my co-workers not only in Omsk, but also in Harbin. One of them arrived like me to the United States and was an active worker even in this country. The staff of the Resettlement Administration was a family of able and friendly co-workers.

Colonization of the Siberian Steppes

Raymond: May I ask you, Professor Guins, to elaborate on these Russian methods of colonization that you have mentioned?

Guins: I had in mind, first of all, the careful selection of lands for the new settlers, from the point of view of the needs of both the state and the future settlers. I have mentioned the exhibition of the Resettlement Administration in St. Petersburg. I was one of the employees who was assigned to give explanations to the visitors.

There were among the visitors economists like A. Kaufman, the author of the first informative and critical book on the resettlement; Isaev, the author of popular courses on political economy; and members of the State Duma.

In addition to the exhibits, there were maps, diagrams, booklets, and various publications, which could give an idea of how the Resettlement Administration secured the future farmers with water supply, agricultural machines, materials for building houses, and what kinds of lands were prepared for one, and which and where for another group.

For example, the inhabitants of the Ukraine received lots of land in the Steppe regions and in the maritime province in the Far East, while inhabitants of the northern parts of the European Russia received another kind of land in the Siberian taiga, more habitual for them.

Raymond: Had the government a general plan for future resettlement?

Guins: I had to answer a similar question during the exhibition, when one of the members of the Gosudarstvennaia Duma asked me to be his guide. He was very interested in all details, and finally asked me about the future plans of the Resettlement Administration. I could not tell him that I knew of any such plans. I explained that the resettlement was part of the general plan to improve conditions of the peasants who were land-starved and to improve the Russian agricultural economy.

But I added that some new prospects were visible in the development of Siberia. In some parts of the Steppe regions, we could notice so many new villages in the same general area that it was not difficult to foresee the necessity or even inevitability of the transformation of one of these villages

Guins: into a distribution center, with shops and various workshops of the professional workers and specialists. Supposing that there was a similar development in foreign colonies, I started to read foreign literature on colonization. In the periodical symposiums published by two of the senior officers in the Resettlement Administration--the "Voprosy Kolonizatsii" (The Problems of Colonization)--I published my article under the title "Pereselenie i Kolonizatsia" (Resettlement and Colonization).

Raymond: Were there in fact any new cities in the regions of the successful resettlement?

Guins: I can indicate two such cities. One of them became known after the inspection tour in the Transuralian regions by the Premier Stolypin and Minister Krivoshein. It was in 1912.

As much as I remember, the exhibition about which I just told took place in 1911. I wrote an article about that exhibition in the same publication, "Voprosy Kolonizatsii." During the visit of Stolypin and Krivoshein in one of the regions of the resettlement, Stolypin asked what was the name of the place where he was. "It is the city Slavgorod," answered the chief of the region.

"Well," said Stolypin, "I never heard about such a city."

"It is a new city," emphasized the officer of the Resettlement Department.

"Maybe of the Potemkinskie derevni (Potemkin village) kind," replied Stolypin. But he was informed about the economic reasons for the transformation of one of the villages into a city, which was, we can say, naturally born.

Raymond: What was the name you said?

Guins: Slavgorod, meaning "Glorious City" if translated into English.

Raymond: Where was that?

Guins: In the Pavlodarskii district, it seems to me. You know, after sixty years it becomes difficult to remember everything. But later, another chief of the region of resettlement in the Far East organized the same kind of city, which was called Alekseevsk, after the name of the heir to the throne, Alexei, son of the Emperor Nicholas II. So we had already two new cities.

Raymond: There must have been an enormous number of peasants moving from Russia to Siberia and to the other outlying regions.

Guins: Year after year the population of the Asiatic Russia was becoming more and more numerous.

Raymond: How many moved every year, approximately?

Guins: I told you that there were years when we had about one million people.

Raymond: Moving?

Guins: Yes, moving.

Raymond: One million per year? I thought that was the total number.

Guins: One million per year moved into different parts of Siberia and into the steppe regions.

Raymond: Did they have to pay for this land?

Guins: Oh no! They received land without payment. On the contrary, they were given credit for building houses and buying agricultural machines.

Raymond: From the government?

Guins: Yes. And without interest, and with very favorable conditions for payment after they began to profit from the land.

Raymond: Did that go on throughout the whole period that you were working for the government--this mass migration?

Guins: Up to World War I. During the war the resettlement was practically suspended.

Raymond: So this was about seven years then, from 1907 to . . .

Guins: 1907 to 1915. It was discontinued because during the war it was difficult to get transportation. And then there were so many males drafted during the war.

Raymond: How many would you say moved altogether? As far as you were concerned?

Guins: I imagine that with a 700,000 average, it must have been five million people.

Raymond: This must have affected the pressure of the population in the central area very greatly.

Guins: Of course; it was the development of the whole economy of Siberia, which meant the industrialization of the country and building new cities according to a certain plan in order to attract another kind of people to Siberia.

Raymond: Was there anybody who opposed these reforms?

Guins: You mean in Siberia itself, or you mean in general?

Raymond: In general.

Guins: In general there was no active opposition, but some landowners in European Russia were afraid that the development of agriculture in Siberia would subvert the economic conditions of Russian landlords. Export of grain, for instance, would go from Siberia instead of European Russia and they would lose markets, perhaps. But such an opposition was simply theoretical, because in fact new markets could appear, in Turkestan, for instance.

There was a project about which your grandfather was certainly well-informed to build a railway and connect the Great Siberian Railway with Turkestan.

Raymond: My grandfather?

Guins: Oh yes! What would be the result of the construction of such a new railway? It would be possible to direct cotton from Turkestan to Siberia for building textile manufacturing there for supplying Turkestan with Siberian grain.

Raymond: Is that not the railway which the Soviets later built and called "Turksib," shortened from Turkestan-Siberia?

Guins: Yes.

Death of Stolypin

Raymond: Professor Guins, one more theoretical question. I think this is a very important historical point. Who killed Stolypin? And was his death connected at all with these reforms you are telling me about?

Guins: Stolypin was already in disgrace in the last years of his official position. The reason was that one of his acts was not sufficiently political and tactful from the point of view of his relations with the Emperor.

Stolypin promoted the bill about the organization of the zemstvos (the local self-government organizations) in the so-called western governments of the Russian Empire, in which the Polish population was numerous, especially in the upper class with its Polish landowners.

The Russian landowners there were afraid that the new zemstvos would be in the hands of the Poles and not of the Russians. But Stolypin's project was to connect more closely both parts of the population so that they would cooperate more within the same government.

He insisted on the implementation of his plan, supposing, probably, that in the future it might be possible to widen zemstvo organizations and to establish them even in Poland, possibly to the point of establishing Polish home-rule.

The Duma approved Stolypin's project, but it was rejected by the State Council, where more conservative and nationalistic trends prevailed. Then Stolypin asked the Emperor to accept his resignation.

He stated that the vote of the State Council was a kind of offense and a breach of confidence in him by such a great institution as the State Council. Most likely the Emperor asked him then what might be done. Stolypin asked the Emperor to suspend the State Duma and State Council for three days.

During the recess of the legislative bodies, the Emperor had the right to sign, according to the fundamental law, an extraordinary "ukaz," which had the significance of temporary law. Stolypin asked the Emperor to sign such a "ukaz" about the establishment of zemstvos in the western governments in the form approved by the Duma.

Guins:

According to the fundamental law, every "ukaz" had to be discussed by the Duma, but there was no doubt that the Duma would approve the "ukaz" in the form and context already approved by the Duma. And then it would go again to the State Council, but it was possible to change its membership, as the Emperor had the right to appoint one-half of the members.

Stolypin named those who were the main objectors: Durnovo and others that I don't remember. The Emperor agreed with Stolypin's plan, signed the "ukaz," and excluded two leaders who were opposed to Stolypin's reform from the State Council.

But what happened? The courtiers began to suggest to the Emperor that the two influential and respected members were excluded in order to satisfy Stolypin's personal ambitions; that he, the Emperor, signed the extraordinary order during a three-day recess while according to the meaning of the fundamental law it was supposed that such measures could be taken only when there was a three or four month vacation of the legislative bodies--not only three days. And that was quite reasonable from the legal point of view.

Since that time Stolypin was in disgrace. Certainly the Tsarina also had something against him because he was not close to Rasputin, who had great influence on her and through her on the Tsar himself.

Soon Stolypin followed the Emperor when he left for Kiev. During the journey Stolypin told Kokovtsev, the Minister of Finance, that he would probably replace him. Kokovtsev wrote in his memoirs that Stolypin knew that he would not remain in an official position for long, that pretty soon he would resign, and that Kokovtsev would replace him. He did not resign; he was killed.

The man who killed him, Bagrov, was a secret police agent and at the same time was a member of the revolutionary party. He was a Jew by origin. As a police agent, he received a ticket to a concert at which the Emperor was present. During the intermission he approached the first row where, at the time, Stolypin was standing.

Stolypin noticed him and also noticed that he had a gun. He moved at once between the agent and the Emperor in the loge, to protect the Emperor with his own person. And thus he became the victim. Nobody knows whether Bagrov would have

Guins: shot the Tsar. It is hardly probably. But Stolypin, already wounded, succeeded to save the Emperor.

Raymond: You have no personal knowledge of this matter, do you?

Guins: No, I was not there, but I repeat this according to the information which everybody knew in St. Petersburg. What was very interesting was that the Emperor in his letter to the Tsarina written the next day in Kiev added only two lines at the end, "Yesterday Stolypin was killed." The Tsar's letters to the Tsarina were published after the revolution.

Raymond: The Tsar did not appreciate Stolypin's sacrifice?

Guins: Evidently he did not appreciate his sacrifice any more than he appreciated him as a minister. But that, of course, was very usual as I shall tell you in another story. It was very difficult to understand Nicholas II as a man. But now I'll return to Stolypin's visit to Siberia.

Details on Stolypin's Earlier Trip to Siberia

Guins: I want to add some more about the trip of Stolypin and Krivoshein to Siberia. We officials of the Resettlement Administration were probably better informed than many other officials about some details, because the report (zapiska) presented to the Tsar was written by Glinka's assistant, Tkhorzhevskii. Stolypin told Krivoshein before going to Siberia that he had no person in his staff who could report well about the inspection trip. Krivoshein said that he had.

The person whom he recommended, a Kammerjunker of the court of the Emperor, a young man, Tkhorzhevskii, was, as I told you earlier, a very capable man. And he wrote the report. He, as a man of great literary gift, amalgamated the various materials in such a manner that the report was very readable and very rich in content and ideas. The report became a historical document, and it is probably only possible to get it from the Great Archives in St. Petersburg or in the great Russian libraries.

Referring to this report, I began to think over the transformation of the resettlement into a great plan for the colonization of Siberia and Turkestan, but I did not know whether this was a suitable time to do that.

Guins: Once, after the publication of the report (zapiska) Glinka asked me if I could come to be secretary of one of the commissions which would have its meeting in the evening. I answered that I could. But what kind of commission was it? He told me that it was a commission connected with the activities of the Department of Land Reclamation, which was concerned with various plans of irrigation, with new territories which were irrigated, and so forth.

"Well," I told him, "perhaps you would let me tell something about my plans which are connected with that."

"Well," he said, "you could speak, but please do not try to be very eloquent. Set forth your ideas briefly."

Raymond: This was your chief Glinka talking to you?

Guins: Yes, it was he. So, when the meeting of the commission was opened, I asked whether I might be allowed to say a few words about the possible plans. I began to say that after the publication of the report of the trip of Stolypin and Krivoshein. . .

Raymond: What year was that?

Guins: Well, 1912, I believe, because Stolypin was killed in 1911, and that was the third year of my service in the Resettlement Department. I told that after the publication of Stolypin's and Krivoshein's report on Siberia, in which various ideas and plans were set forth, they expected from our central government institutions a kind of detailed plan for the development of Siberia as far as the resettlements began to change their economic conditions.

I explained that it becomes necessary for the near future to organize in Siberia some large agricultural model estates if not state farms with modern equipment and, besides, to encourage the organization of new industrial enterprises.

When I finished my short speech, Glinka's assistant asked him whether I had his permission to set forth these theses. Glinka answered that I had his permission. Then S. D. Maximov, one of the members of the commission and representative of the Reclamation Department, noted that he would welcome such a broad program. But Glinka answered, "We will not follow this young man right now;" and he added, "we have another subject to discuss."

Raymond: How old were you in 1912? 25 years old?

Guins: 25, quite right. But I was already a father, having my first son. And I did not feel very young, because during two and a half years of my service and after my experience in Turkestan and, mostly because of a study of the books of foreign authors on the colonization of the African colonies of France, I believed that I was sufficiently prepared for the discussion of a plan for the resettlement in the aspect of a broad scheme of colonization.

I understood why Glinka had refused the subsequent discussion on the problems which I emphasized. Every government institution had a definite competence and cannot interfere in the activity of others if it had no special approval from the minister. Any initiative of a certain department should be limited in conformity to its competence. In the meantime, the problems which I raised with reference to the zapiska of two ministers could not be discussed unless they were approved from above.

Raymond: Maybe it should be called "bureaucratism," if some new ideas are postponed up to the unknown future.

Guins: Sometimes it would be correct to characterize such an act as a bureaucratic one. But only if the postponement were not motivated and if one could suppose that the postponement was a result of the intention to simplify the work and not to risk showing initiative which could cause additional concern and troubles.

Glinka was not a bureaucrat. He did not ask me about what I wanted to speak, but he could not discuss such problems with the representatives of the other departments without the sanction of the minister. Discipline is always necessary, and the established order had to be observed.

The St. Petersburg Government -- Bureaucratism and Change

Raymond: Would it be correct to say that there was no bureaucratism in St. Petersburg government practice during your period of service?

Guins: I wouldn't say so. First of all, the central government concentrated in its hands too much power, and the local

Guins: administration and, I should say, the local population were deprived of self-government in the form of the zemstvos. The zemstvos, where they existed, were subject to the supervision of the governors. Some central institutions did not understand the local needs and tried to postpone the decision of some vital problems for so long as could be possible.

But what I want to emphasize especially is that due to the existence of the State Duma many significant changes took place in the bureaucratic system since 1906.

Raymond: Are you then saying that representative institutions, the introduction of a representative institution like the Duma in Russia was an important beginning of a countermeasure to this overwhelming bureaucracy which you were describing before? Representative institutions like the Duma came in and helped break down a little bit of the bureaucracy?

Guins: The existence of the Duma had a great significance, because, for instance, the system of the discussion of the budget established in the Duma continued for several months and was practically a thorough study of the activities of the government. Every part of the budget was discussed in the commission, whose members were well acquainted with the activities of one or the other departments.

For example, there was a special commission for the resettlement. If this commission approved the plans, its representatives supported the budget, and then the finance committee would discuss how much to appropriate. But everything was discussed in details. And the Chief of the Budget Commission, Alexeenko, Professor of Finance at Kharkov University, was a very competent person who himself could have been Minister of Finance.

So it was not so easy for the representatives of the government to get approval for the plans and the appropriations, as they were presented to the Duma. The existence of the State Duma had a great influence on the selection of the people for the government service also.

Before 1906, the noble people had the privilege of priority for the government service, especially in St. Petersburg. I was a hereditary nobleman, and I presented my credentials, but nobody asked in advance whether I was noble or not. They were very satisfied to have such a man as I was. The administrative office could not oppose another candidate, because I was already invited by Glinka, and he was not interested in my origin and social position or to what social group of the population I belonged. That's what I wanted to emphasize in speaking about

Guins: bureaucratism in St. Petersburg in 1906 to 1917.

Since the existence of the State Duma, the staff of almost all the departments of those ministries which were especially involved in the activities connected with new programs of the government and in the development of the country were renewed. And the gifted and industrious young employees could be promoted much earlier and easier than before the establishment of the Duma.

For example, in order to develop the resettlement on a larger scale, the staff was increased and it became possible to appoint new employees at once to the position of the seventh rank. So, according to the title, the right to which the University diploma gave me, I could only have the eighth, but in one year I had already the seventh rank. In order to get the sixth rank, I received a reward after three years of work instead of the usual four years.

And thus I won already one year for the next promotion. Then I would receive the next again in a shorter time and would gain already two years and occupy the position of the fifth rank, up to the Assistant to the Director of the department.

At that time, the officials in St. Petersburg who had a chance to be promoted soon preferred to receive their next title instead of medals and to be promoted to the next rank with a better salary and more responsibility.

Raymond: I see. The government, as a reward, would either give you a medal or give you a new title and promotion. They wouldn't do both?

Guins: No, not both a medal and promotion in rank. But there was a third choice also. If one wanted, one could get from the "Cabinet of His Majesty" a reward in kind--for example, a gold watch with the imperial coat of arms. Some poorer employees preferred that. But those who had the prospect to gain a high position would always prefer to get the next title.

There was even another system if it was necessary to promote someone sooner than was possible in an ordinary way. That was the awarding of a special position at the Emperor's court. For example, Tkhorzhevskii, about whom I told you, was Kammerjunker of the Emperor's court, which was already higher than the 'nadvornyi sovjetnik.' Then he was promoted to the rank of Kammerherr, which was the same rank as a general. He could thus have been already Director of a department, a position of the fourth rank.

Guins: So, there were different ways invented to promote people who were able and could be useful in the new conditions of the country, which required active workers with initiative and new ideas, or experts in various professions with good experience. I should observe, however, that a court title could be given to the noble people only, and such a kind of promotion did not seduce people with moderate means into disliking the so-called "beau monde."

Guins's Rise as a Public Officer

Raymond: Professor Guins, you told me earlier that you were attached to the University for preparing yourself for professorship. Had this any significance in your appointment?

Guins: I don't think so. I was invited, as I told you earlier, after my return from Turkestan, before I had graduated from the University. My rapid promotion as a public officer must be explained by my interest in the activity of the Resettlement Administration and by my literary works and publications.

My articles setting forth my impressions during my sojourn in Turkestan were published, as I told earlier, in the Istoricheskii Vestnik, a magazine which had a large circulation among the St. Petersburg bureaucracy. Glinka was the first who praised my articles. I published also a series of articles in the symposiums, published by two senior officers of the Resettlement Administration in the Voprosy Kolonizatskii.

I contributed also to the weekly publication of our Ministry of Agriculture, the Selski Vestnik (Messenger for Villages), if I do not make a mistake as regards its title. I wrote articles about the resettlement. I remember one which described the hard conditions of life in Brazil for the Russian peasants, who preferred to go there instead of to the Steppe region; another about the first year of life in the taiga, the virgin forest, under the Tomsk government in Siberia, and the assistance which peasants received from the local administration of the Resettlement Administration.

These articles were paid for, and my honorarium served me as an additional source of the means of existence. I did not think about the significance of this my literary work, but it

Guins: proved to be very effective, because my chiefs began to appreciate more and more my literary ability.

Graduate Studies

Raymond: As I understand, you were quite satisfied with your position. But did you continue your connection with the University?

Guins: I graduated in December, 1909, but I was officially attached to the University for continuation of my studies with a scholarship in September, 1910. Every person who wanted to get a right to teach at the University had to select one or the other group of at least three legal disciplines connected with each other and pass examinations in all of them.

I decided that the civil law corresponded more with my interests than, say, criminal law or state law. The professor of civil law required me to present a special paper on a subject of the civil law. I did it. He approved my paper, and I was attached to the University with a scholarship in the amount of 1,200 rubles per year.

Requirements of passing the examinations were very extensive and strict. Those who succeeded to pass them received the right to teach at the universities, and it is for that reason that the examinations were characterized as examinations for professorship. To pass these examinations, at least in St. Petersburg, an aspirant had to present for approval his own programs of the courses which the candidate would have the right to give as a professor of one or another of these courses.

I had to prepare such programs on four courses: Roman Law, Civil Law, Commercial Law, and Civil Procedure. My major was Civil Law, and, therefore, my program had to be not only up to date, as the recent legislation of Russia and the European nations (it was enough to include the French and German Law), but it was indispensable to be familiar also with the new civil code of Switzerland, as the most recent, and the project of the new Russian Civil Code.

It was necessary also to prepare an original program. That means to emphasize in it the special interests of the author of the program and his own ideas, if any, or at least

Guins: to what school and methods he is disposed. Still, that was not all. Besides a general program of the corresponding course, it was necessary to add several outlines of original research works on subjects selected by the aspirant with the approval of his responsible instructor.

To every such outline had to be attached a bibliographic list of the scientific works written on the same subject and read by the aspirant. For my major course, the Civil Law, I had to select and work out six such special subjects; for the other courses, the Roman Law, Commercial Law, and Civil Procedure, two subjects for each.

Raymond: I suppose that a certain term had been established for passing such examinations--several years, at least?

Guins: There was such a term only for those getting scholarships. Every year the candidate had to present his reports, indicating the progress of his preparation for examinations, to his main instructor and to the professors who were giving the other courses of the selected group of disciplines.

The main instructor had to decide whether the aspirant was sufficiently prepared to pass the examinations. The aspirant himself had, however, the right to decide whether he was ready for passing the examinations or not. But the scholarship could not be prolonged unless the report was presented and approved.

Difficulties in Combining Studies and Work

I was working very conscientiously during the academic year of 1910 to 1911. But I did not succeed sufficiently. I had four weeks vacation during the summer of 1911 and left for Europe. I was living and working mostly in Paris, where I visited also the Ecole de Droit (School of Law). Nevertheless, I decided that my report would not be sufficient for prolongation of the scholarship, and I did not renew my application.

I continued to be attached to the University without Scholarship. In 1912 I was again in Europe, and that time I was working and studying in Heidelberg the German Civil law and attending lectures and seminars on the Roman law. I was all ready to prepare programs of the courses of Roman law and Civil law, but to write outlines of potential books or special

Guins: courses was impossible under the conditions of my work in the Resettlement Administration.

In the meantime I was very interested in my work in the Resettlement Administration, and I was receiving more and more responsible assignments. It became clear that it would be impossible to combine work with studies. Each one demanded concentration of intellectual and physical energy. Returning home, I worked every night. My wife visited theaters with her friends and was occupied with her first baby son.

I went to bed late, after midnight, and got up late for going to the office or earlier for going to the library of the University before going to the office. Yet my preparation was slower than I wanted. Most of the time and energy I had to use and devote to the government work.

Raymond: Did you receive additional compensation for overtime work?

Guins: We received two times per year, on the eve of the great Easter and Christmas holidays, additional compensation as a reward for good service. The general principle was that the salary secures upkeep of every officer in conformity with his social position. Therefore, every government employee, except those who had no titles and ranks, had to work as long as was necessary.

Promotions of every kind were the most usual reward for such a devoted service. No wonder that in connection with the promotions which I already received and which I could expect to receive, I should be ready to allow government service to swallow my energy and brains in total.

Professorial Examinations

I want to add that the procedure of examinations which existed for the aspirants for professorship took place not in a special commission consisting of several professors, but at the meeting of the whole faculty of law. I had to divide my program of the potential courses into fifteen to twenty sections and to take one of the 25 tickets from the table--tickets which contained the numbers of all the various sections.

Then I had to begin my lecture, the content of the section corresponding with the number which I got from the table.

Guins: Everybody could offer me questions. Then the examination continued. Specific questions connected with my program or anything lese could be asked. The latter could be declined on the ground that they were still not subjects of the research and study, but such an evasion could be considered improper although formally justified by the prior approval of the program.

The last part of the examination should be the explanation of one of the outlines presented in addition to the program of the course.

In the case of a satisfactory result of the first examination, at least two more had to follow on the other courses with an intermission from two weeks to one month each. If all examinations were acknowledged as satisfactory, it was necessary to give two lectures, one on the subject offered by the faculty, the other on the subject selected by the aspirant himself.

And this still was not the end. It was necessary to pass a written examination. In an isolated room you found a sealed envelope and read on what subject you would have to write a short survey during, say, three or four hours.

If all of the indicated examinations and tests were over and the faculty declared them satisfactory, the aspirant had the right to offer a special course of lectures and receive the title of privat docent (lecturer) of the University. If he passed the examinations cum laude, he could get a position in one of the universities in the provinces.

I was more or less familiar with that procedure of the examination although not with all the details before I succeeded to pass it. Therefore I understood that to combine my service in the Resettlement Administration and complete the preparation for the examinations would be a risky undertaking. There was a dilemma either to continue my public service or to discontinue it and ask for a renewal of the scholarship for a year or two and complete my preparation for professorship as soon as possible.

An Unexpected Offer

Raymond: Did you consult your chiefs?

Guins: I did not reach any decision when it came quite unexpectedly from outside. Such a favorable occasion, which predetermined my future, was not the first one in my life. I received again an offer on which I could not have reckoned at all. It was offered by Tkhorzhevskii, whom I mentioned not so long ago as the author of the report which was written for Stolypin and Krivoshein about their inspection trip to Siberia.

Soon afterwards, Krivoshein gave him a promotion. From the assistant of the Chief of the Resettlement Administration, Tkhorzhevskii became Chief of the Office of the Ministers, a position equal to the Chief of the Administration. The staff of this institution did not correspond to the needs of the new period. It consisted of typical chinovniks (functionaries) who did not have any kind of initiative and ability to write anything that was outside the routine.

Tkhorzhevskii was very disappointed when he became the chief of this institution, because Krivoshein expected from the new Chief of the Office the preparation of various kinds of papers even of general content and significance, and not only compilations of various materials which were usually presented to the Minister from various departments and had to be summarized and polished.

Tkhorzhevskii needed somebody for that kind of work, and he offered me the chance to become such a person. "Do you want to be an official for special assignment attached to the Ministry with the salary of 2,800 rubles?" he asked me by phone. I told him that I would.

The Resettlement Administration began to resist. Glinka offered me 3,000 rubles salary and promotion from seventh to the sixth degree. Tkhorzhevskii told me that I would not get the sixth degree at once because his office did not dispense the privileges of free appointments while ignoring the titles as the Resettlement Administration could do.

In spite of the advantages of Glinka's offer, I told him no, because I had already promised to Tkhorzhevskii. So I rejected his flattering offer. He was very dissatisfied and reproached me later several times for such an act. But my decision proved to be very successful from the point of view of my intentions.

Raymond: What year was this?

Guins: 1913.

A New Position--Minister's Officer for Special Assignments

Guins: I became an official for special assignments of the Minister. In the new office located in another palace on the same square close to the Mariinskii dvorcts (palace), the residence of the State Council, I received a separate room on the third floor.

The first floor was occupied by a number of sections of the Minister's office. The second was at the disposal of the Minister and consisted of a large reception hall and his study rooms. On the third there were some special services, including the bookkeeper's office of the Ministry.

All reports which were presented to the Emperor personally by the Minister passed through the Minister's office. My chief gave some of them to me to read. Sometimes it was necessary to polish them or to shorten them.

Raymond: Who was Minister then?

Guins: Krivoshein.

Raymond: Minister of what?

Guins: Speaking exactly, he was Chief of the Administration of Land Organization and Agriculture.

Raymond: But he was not in title a minister?

Guins: No. He was "glavno-upravliaushchii."

Raymond: But you keep referring to the office as the Office of the Minister.

Guins: In fact he was that. Krivoshein had all the rights of a Minister. I explained earlier why the Ministry of Agriculture was renamed. In 1915 it became again a Ministry. Besides the name of the institution there was no other difference between

Guins: the Chief Administration and the Ministry, and I prefer the latter simply as more short. Krivoshein used to perform all duties and have all the privileges of a Minister.

Editing Reports to the Emperor

Fulfilling my duties, I would read various kinds of reports-- "doklady gosudariu imperatoru." I became informed that this kind of report must be written--such were the instructions-- "as if you wrote something for children." That means so easily understandable that the Emperor could catch the idea in one moment; he had no time to read all the reports, especially if they were long.

But to prepare reports in that way required a special gift for editing.

Raymond: Was it because the Emperor was not very bright?

Guins: No, I don't think so. Simply not to overload him. As you know, there are so many reports from so many ministers that if they are long and not easily understandable, the Emperor could not have time to read them. For these reasons the Emperor wanted to receive readable, clear, and short reports.

When Krivoshein returned from Tsarskoe Selo, he called Tkhorzhevskii as the Chief of the office for handing to him reports and told him the Emperor agreed with the report without any written remarks on the paper. The Minister himself wrote that the Emperor approved the report, indicating the date and place. That was the procedure. Then the Chief of the Office of the Ministry had to inform the institutions or persons about the decision of the Emperor.

Not every Minister had the right to declare the decisions of the Emperor given by him only verbally, without his autographic signature. Only ministers having at the same time the title of "State Secretary" had such a right. Krivoshein was one of the State Secretaries.

I acquired in such a manner a new experience. Other materials of interest were the Governors' reports. Each year, each governor had to report to the Emperor about the conditions of the government in which he held position. I read some of these reports and could see how the governors tried to adjust their reports to the character and interests of the Emperor.

Guins: The Emperor received the governors' reports by mail, addressed to Tsarskoe Selo, to His Majesty, the Emperor. If he was interested, he read the whole report. If not, he read a couple of pages and ordered to dispatch the report to the Emperor's office (Kantseliaria Ego Velichestva) without results and signature.

The Emperor's personal office extracted various parts of the report and sent each part to the proper Ministry or another institution and the full text to the Minister of Interior Affairs, or to the Minister of War, depending on whether the civil or military administration had jurisdiction in the particular case.

I was reading once how the governor of Semipalatinskaia oblast (territory) described in his report his trip against the current up the river Irtysh, where he stopped and what he saw. He related in his report some legendary stories about regional heroes, his visits at the monasteries, and described the ikons. The Emperor read the whole report, and it was covered with his remarks, which witnessed that he was very interested.

I want to add that according to the contents of the report and the notes of the Emperor, if one had a chance to read the whole report, he could be able to understand better the system of the government. Unfortunately, we seldom received the full text of the reports read by the Emperor but mostly the excerpts related to our Ministry.

Raymond: Why were some of those reports going through the Ministry of Agriculture?

Guins: Well, I'll try to explain. Every ministry, as every other central institution, received for execution either the whole report or excerpts which related to the matters in the competence of that particular minister. And the latter, according to the resolutions of the Emperor, had to execute what the Emperor indicated.

Raymond: What was your general conclusion about the Emperor's character and what he liked and disliked?

Guins: I should know more than I did before reaching a definite conclusion. But I am ready to recall some facts which I know and to emphasize that among the materials which could be interesting sources for understanding the Tsar's attitude to

Guins: various events might be the original reports of the governor-generals and the governors with the Tsar's autographic remarks and resolutions.

I will mention first of all some books which were presented to the Emperor by Krivoshein. In the central offices of the Ministry, as I told you, there were many able employees, and Minister Krivoshein. (I repeat that I call him Minister and the institution the Ministry although it was not exact for the reasons already explained. And besides, the name of Ministry had been restored in 1915).

Ministry Publications

Krivoshein decided that it would be expedient to publish various books on the subjects connected with the functions of the ministry. Among the publications which were completed during 1912-1916, one cannot pass by two luxuriously published volumes with an additional collection of maps and a separate index, under the title Aziatskaia Rossiia.

It contains history of the incorporation of Siberia, its ethnography, geology and natural resources, description of the resettlement of peasants and its results before and after the construction of the Great Siberian Railway, Siberian rivers and cities, etc.

I prepared for this publication an article on the administrative and judicial organization in Asiatic Russia and helped Tkhorzhevskii to edit some other articles, especially ethnographic ones, which were very informative but required an essential editorial work. I did it, and Tkhorzhevskii's editorship was final.

The Emperor was very interested in this publication. Being the heir to the throne, he presided over the committee which headed the construction of the Siberian Railway. He knew also Siberia personally as he crossed it returning from Japan. Everything that related to Asiatic Russia attracted his special interest, and he was always glad to receive administrators and hierarchs who arrived in St. Petersburg from the remote parts of Siberia and the Far East, as, for example, Kamchatka.

Another publication, which was worthy of attention and which the Tsar liked to see, was the Album of Russian Craftsmanship. It was a collection of beautiful colored

Guins: pictures of woodcarving, ironmongery, carpets, toys, etc. This publication characterized not only the artistic gift and imagination of the craftsmen, but also the creative initiative of our ministry.

The publication was dedicated to the Empress, and her picture was included on the first page. In such a manner both the Emperor and the Empress could be satisfied and at the same time reminded about certain kinds of activity which required their attention and support.

I want to emphasize that these kinds of government publications represented a new epoch, which began after the first revolution of 1905-1906 and the foundation of the State Duma. Publications of the ministry were distributed among the members of the Duma, those who took part in the commissions related to the activity and appropriations of the Ministry of Agriculture and, correspondingly, to the members of the State Council, and other influential persons.

Raymond: Perhaps you can recall these influential persons?

Guins: I wish I could, but it was not my duty to distribute the publications. I knew to whom one or another of the publications were sent, but I do not remember them after fifty years. I can say only that among them were quite a few people of the camarilla who could exert their influence on the Tsar.

I remember General Voiyekov, Count Olsufiev, Maid of Honor Naryshkina, no more. The list of such persons was prepared in conformity with the personal indications of Krivoshein. He knew who could influence the Emperor and Empress. I believe every minister should know those persons who could support him or, on the contrary, blame him and support his opponents at the imperial court. Krivoshein's successors had no such experience as he did.

Raymond: Were there some other publications about which you could tell something?

Guins: Yes. I suggested to Tkhorzhevskii, and he agreed, that our office should prepare a history of the 75 years of existence of the institution in which we both were working but which changed three times its name and, correspondingly, its program of activity. With the aid of the Chief of the Archives of our ministry, I prepared such a book.

It was not a big one, and we included the pictures of all ministers beginning from Count Kiselev and going up to

Guins: Krivoshein. In the first place, before the text, the picture of the Emperor was placed, and then the pictures of all heads of the ministry in chronological order. Krivoshein presented this book to the Emperor during his personal report in Tsarskoe Selo.

The Emperor began to glance through until he found the picture of Kutler, and he exclaimed, "Oh, even Kutler is here!" Kutler was the head of our Ministry during the 1905 revolution. He was a partisan of the partial nationalization and distribution of some of the lands of the landowners among the peasants. But the right wing opposition was very strong. Kutler was dismissed and then joined the Constitutional Democratic Party headed by Miliukov, and, if my memory does not betray me, he was elected to the State Duma.

When the Tsar found his picture and exclaimed, "Oh, even Kutler is here," Krivoshein told him, "One cannot exclude word from the tale." (That is a Russian saying). Anyhow, the book was never mentioned afterwards by the Emperor. He hardly read it.

Raymond: Was it a bad mark against you?

Guins: Not at all. Everything remained as it was without any change. If we had excluded Kutler, then other people would have attacked us. We did not devote a special part of the book to Kutler, but simply mentioned that he was for a while the head of the institution. The book contained the story of the reforms which were performed but not the plans and projects which were rejected.

Nicholas II

Guins: There was another case of greater interest and significance. 1914 was the date of the twenty year anniversary of Nicholas II as Emperor. I reminded Tkhorzhevskii of this fact and suggested to him that we should write what was done and had been accomplished during these twenty years by the Ministry of Agriculture. I believed that it would be of great advantage for the Emperor as well as our ministry to emphasize what had been done and what was still under consideration as an extension to the Great Reforms of the Emperor Alexander II.

I collected materials from all departments, and I wrote a short but very informing report about how much was done in

Guins: all directions under the supervision and by the initiative of our ministry for the development of agriculture, fire-proofing, fisheries, resettlement, land organization, and reclamation of lands.

This report was presented to the Emperor by Krivoshein. And what was the result? Krivoshein returned and told to Tkhorzhevskii that the Emperor had said, 'O.K., I will read it.' And then he opened one of the boxes on his desk in which he put usually papers which he did not wish to read. The minister had already experienced that if the Emperor put these papers in that box on his desk that meant that the paper found there its grave.

Why did he do that? I can only suppose that Nicholas II was a very modest man and that he did not like flattery. And he probably decided that this report was written to flatter him as an emperor.

There were other peculiarities. When I was preparing the 75 year history of the ministry, my co-worker, the Chief of the Archives Shafranov, related some stories about the former ministers and about the Emperor.

Once, he told, Minister Stishinskii returned from Tsarskoe Selo and said to the manager of the palace, in which our ministry was located, that he will move from his private apartment to the ministry and occupy the apartment which he had a right to use but did not use earlier, being not sure that he will durably occupy his position.

The manager was very surprised, and asked him whether he will really move in. Why had he doubts? Minister could not understand. But there was already received an Emperor's transcript. Which one? Minister called to the Chief of his office (it was not Tkhorzhevskii at that time) and asked what kind of transcript was received. It was the act of accepting the resignation of Stishinskii.

Stishinskii was amazed. He told that he just came from Tsarskoe Selo and that the Emperor was very kind to him and did not say him a word about his replacing him. "Yes, your Excellency, but you are appointed to the State Council," informed him the Chief of the office of the minister.

Occasions of such kind were not rare. There was a Chief of the Personal Office of the Emperor, Taneiev. In connection with his position he was very close to the imperial court and the Emperor's family, but when he resigned (I don't know why because I was never informed about that), I knew later that Nicholas II never invited him to the court and even did not

Guins: mention his name. And that was the same with Stolypin, a great statesman, who did so much for restoring order in the country after the revolution of 1905 and who was killed protecting the Emperor. But after his death, he was forgotten.

Developments in Agriculture and Industry

Guins: At the time when I was one of the officials of the Office of the Ministry of Agriculture, I became especially enthusiastic observing the successful development of the Russian economic life, both agriculture and industry. Perhaps not many people know at present that at the time from 1910 to 1914, before World War I, there were some enterprises organized in Russia of the type of the great American enterprises.

For example, the Azov-Don Bank, the Russian Trade and Industrial Bank, the Volga-Kamskii Bank, to mention only a few, disposed of great amounts of money they received not only from shareholders but also from depositors, a sign of the growing welfare of the country. The above-mentioned banks invested their capital in some great enterprises.

Someone, Donishevskii, organized a company in northern Russia originally to export wood from Russia to England and other countries of Europe. This enterprise developed so successfully that he decided that it would be profitable for him to build also shipyards, for using his own means of transportation.

After that, he enlarged his enterprises even more and became the proprietor of fisheries in the White Sea. His steamers returned home with the imported goods. In such a manner his company became one of the largest companies in Russia, especially for the development of northern Russia.

Now another example. I don't know exactly who were the individual persons who headed the different branches of the activities of the Russian Trade and Industrial Bank (Russkii Torgovopromyshlennyi Bank), but I know that with the support of this bank the shipping on the Volga was developed significantly and that this bank also supported the building

Guins: of the elevators which collected grain from the different gubernias (provinces) on both the right and the left banks of the River Volga. And thus the export of grain to Western Europe was organized more systematically.

So, when we did the statistics on Volga elevators and the turnover of this company, we ourselves were certainly amazed how in such a short period such a development of trade and such a rise of profit could have taken place. It was not surprising that in 1913 a group of German economists expressed its wish to have a tour of Russia in order to be able to observe the results and the development of the so-called land organization.

Land Organization Reform

I believe I mentioned earlier something about the reforms which were undertaken at the time of Stolypin. The land organization was the main reform which stimulated the individual economy of peasants.

This reform let peasants leave the village communes and even live either on their quite individual farms (khutors) or stay in the same village but have land at their own disposal and not to be more subject to periodical redistributions of commune land, as it had been earlier.

That was the greatest reform, I believe, because the existence of the Russian village commune, embarrassingly idealized by many Russian publicists and economists, especially those called "Slavophiles," in fact hindered the development of the Russian agricultural economy.

Maybe one example of my own experience will explain it better than any theory. Once I visited a piece of land in which I found many big stones. This piece of land was close to the rocky mountains and during the snow thaws great torrents of water brought the stones to the valley. On this piece of land there were many of them, because nobody collected them for years.

I asked the peasant, at whose disposal the land was at that time, why he did not gather them up. "What for?" he replied. "Next time, after the redistribution of land, I will receive another piece of land, which also will have stones, while my present lot will be used by another one." I believe this story is sufficient for understanding that any kind of

Guins: land reclamation did not make sufficient progress because of this periodic land distribution.

Many peasants who had very small pieces of land preferred to leave the country, to take any kind of compensation and to move to cities. Thus the number of workers for industrial enterprises increased. Others preferred to go to other parts of the country in search for land. And in such a manner the resettlement of peasants from European Russia developed simultaneously with the development of industry in European Russia and stimulated the economic development of Asiatic Russia and the activity of the so-called Peasants' Bank.

This bank was organized by the government with a special purpose: 1) to acquire private estates and distribute them among landless peasants for a moderate price with payments by installments, and 2) to support those peasants who owned their individual farms and who wanted to invest money in land reclamation.

So, you see, the activity of the Peasants' Bank was closely connected with the whole system of agrarian reforms and land organization. Liquidation of the communes and distribution of land for the perpetual possession of individual peasant families or members of a certain village group, and even for individual possession of certain lots of land outside the village, was supported by the Peasants' Bank.

Peasants who were of enterprising character also supported the development of resettlement of one part of the country to another. All these reforms combined were seen later in the economic development of the country. And every year--1912, 1913, 1914--we could observe the great results of the agrarian reforms supported by Stolypin.

Prospective Economic Independence for Russia

In 1913 a group of German experts arrived to Russia for making acquaintance with the results of the land organization. After their return to Germany, they presented their report, a copy of which was sent to Russia, as much as I remember, by the Russian ambassador in Berlin.

It is possible that the report if it was published in Germany was not published in total. But, as much as I remember, the Russian Ministry of Foreign Affairs dispersed it in its full text. Probably the ambassador delivered the

Guins: report in its original form. And thus the Russian government was informed that the German economists emphasized in their report that if Russia continued to develop in the same tempo, she would be absolutely economically independent in two or three years.

Raymond: Independent of Germany?

Guins: In particular from Germany. This dependence was especially connected with the Russian-German trade agreement. Russia imported from Germany many machines and parts of machines and spare parts, and she was also forced by the economic situation which existed earlier to agree to very favorable, for Germany, commercial tariffs.

So, the problem of the next trade agreement which came up for revision in 1914 or 1915 was discussed in the Russian press at that time, in the newspapers and magazines. The economic interests of Germany occupied not the last place among the German aggressive plan and accelerated the declaration of war against Russia.

Pre-War Events

Guins: Some months before the declaration of war, I began to notice some surprising phenomena in St. Petersburg. In May or June, 1914, a German watchmaker to whom I used to go every time I had to repair or buy something declared that he was leaving Russia.

I asked him what happened as I noticed that his shop was almost empty and that in the yard of his house there were boxes and trunks. He told me that he had decided to leave Russia because he had been outside of his fatherland for very long time and decided to return home since he had become an old man now.

Some weeks later my wife returned home after a walk with my son, a small boy, and told me that during their walk she read a note on the door of one of the neighboring apartments that the owner was selling his furniture and piano. She was interested for a long time in having our own piano. So she visited the apartment and was surprised that a good piano and

Guins: in the best condition was offered at a very small price. We bought that piano.

Later when the war started I understood that Germans in the capital were informed in advance that there would be a war and were advised by the consul or the embassy to leave the country.

Raymond: How long were these "mysterious events" before the start of the war?

Guins: As regards these events, I had another phenomenon in mind, really "mysterious," as you have noticed. In several factories in St. Petersburg in the same day, or maybe during one day and then another, now in one, now in another factory, workers complained that they suffered while breathing, that there was something bad in the air.

It was written about in the newspapers and nobody could explain what happened and why. Some time later the same phenomenon happened in many factories. And again, only after the beginning of the war, we supposed that it was some kind of air poisoning in order to arouse inner troubles.

Raymond: How long before the beginning of the war was that?

Guins: Well, it was one or two weeks before the declaration of war. Now also maybe one week before the declaration of war, I had to leave Russia for Germany or France in order to devote my vacation for preparing myself for the examination for the professorship.

I had the right to take a vacation, but when I informed my chief about my plan, he told me that he did not advise me to go. I was very surprised and told him that I had already a passport to go abroad. He told me that I could certainly go if I wanted to but repeated again his advice not to leave.

It was said so decisively that after a short hesitation I decided to follow his advice. And after a day or two I told him that I would not take a vacation and that I would postpone my going abroad. "You did this very well," he told me. And maybe several days later the war was declared.

Some events pass without being noticed by people, but when one event follows the other in such a manner that their connection and interrelation becomes more obvious, one begins to reappraise their significance and understand their connection.

When I was in Germany during the summer of 1913, I noticed that the attitudes of some young Germans whom I met in the boarding house where I was living and also of some older people

Guins: whom I met in the German universities were not as polite as they were earlier. And I was told that some of the professors, speaking of some legal cases, mentioned the "russische Schweine"--Russian pigs. Such complimentary address was very strange at the University. Yet I did not generalize then my impressions, supposing that this had been purely incidental.

But during 1914, there was another explanation to it. It was the preparation of public opinion and the psychology of the German people for the coming war, I believe. It was strange enough that there were even some members of the government like, for example, the Minister of Education, Professor Kasso, who left for Germany not so long before the beginning of the war.

It was necessary for many people to go to Germany. Many Russians went for the mineral baths in various parts of Germany; their reasons were quite understandable. But it was not so understandable why they were not informed in advance that some complications could take place, or how the police could not pay attention to the German exit from Russia.

The one possible explanation was that the Russian government still believed that the conflict would not be so close or maybe would be cancelled by the international negotiations and a forthcoming agreement.

There were, however, some symptoms of international complications. The president of France, Poincare, arrived to St. Petersburg, and after a visit with the Tsar hastily left for France. The visit had a character of an urgent meeting. I saw the French president when he was going together with the ambassador along the palace quay. There were very few people on the embankment, and those who recognized the president welcomed him.

He left the capital in a hurry. These were not the usual arrangements characterizing visits of the heads of friendly nations.

Soon after that, I was returning to St. Petersburg from Pavlovsk, a suburb of the capital. It was one of the most popular places for the summertime. There was a beautiful park and much comfort. Families of the government employees liked to live there because husbands and fathers could come every Friday, and sometimes even more often, to join the family.

And besides, there were excellent concerts in Pavlovsk once every week in the railway station hall. A special train left after the concert and delivered all visitors to the capital. I had friends in Pavlovsk. My family was in

Guins: Bessarabia and attended the concert I am speaking about in the evening. It was the season of the "white nights," when at eleven p.m. one could walk along the streets of the capital as if it were early evening, and I decided to walk from the station instead of taking a bus.

When I was approaching the central part of the capital I was surprised to see one detachment after the other moving silently from the southern direction to the north of the city. It was the time of military maneuvers at the places of the summer camps which were located to the south of the capital.

In the meantime soldiers and military trucks moved in the northern direction. And why during the night? I remember that such an unusual movement of considerable military units amazed me and that I felt even a certain uneasiness in observing the unusual march of considerable numbers of the military detachments moving with an ominous silence during the night.

But I approached the Neva and admired its majestic silver surface so beautiful during the "white night."

Declaration of War

Guins: The next day, my chief told me in the office that the minister was informed that the war was declared. The reason of his former advice not to go abroad became understandable. It was the beginning of the new epoch. We all in the Ministry felt it.

First it was mobilization only of the troops in service, but later it was announced that all reservists had also to be ready for mobilization. On the list of the reservists who might be drafted, there was the category to which I belonged.

I decided then to leave St. Petersburg as soon as possible and go to Bessarabia to report for duty there, as my family had been at that time in Kishinev and my wife expected a new baby.

Vacation in Kishinev

Guins: I had a right to vacation, and I received permission to leave. Since the declaration of war about two weeks had slipped by when I left St. Petersburg. In my compartment was a Frenchman who was going to Odessa for returning to France via Constantinople, and from there to Marseilles. My fellow traveller openly expressed his indignation that the Russian troops had not yet begun fighting the Germans, while the latter rapidly advanced in the direction to Paris.

I explained to him that at least two weeks passed from the beginning of the mobilization and that it was just the time during which Russia, with her space, could concentrate troops for undertaking an offensive. I emphasized also that Russia for the last day tried to prevent war and did not wish to mobilize her troops in order not to instigate and justify the German preparation for war.

Raymond: What did you do in Kishinev?

Guins: The next day after my arrival I had visited the office of the so-called Voinskii nachalnik, a commissioned officer in charge of the draft and various administrative functions including violation of discipline. The secretary of the office informed me that the reservists of the category to which I belonged were still not drafted.

He explained me also that if in St. Petersburg reservists of all categories were obliged to report, it was simply for registration of reservists for an occasion of extraordinary character. I told him then that I would stay in Bessarabia for a while, as I had a certain period as a vacation, and would visit him once more before returning to St. Petersburg.

In the meantime I had visited one of the institutions of our Ministry, the so-called "Upravlenie Imeniami Zagranichnykh Dukhovnykh Ustanovlenii" (Administration for Management of the Estates of the Foreign Religious Organizations). It was a very specific institution.

Some of the people in Moldavia used to bequeath their estates to the various churches or for some special religious purposes in Palestine. I remember, for example, a will indicating that the estate had to be used for maintaining the tomb of Jesus Christ: precloneno grobu Gospodniu.

Guins: The Greek Orthodox organizations pretended to dispose the above-mentioned estates in Moldavia. The Russian government, after the incorporation of Bessarabia, acknowledged the testaments by which the estates were left for the religious purposes but organized its own administration for exploiting the estates and transferring to Palestine a certain part of the profit for distributing it in Palestine in conformity with the will of the testators.

I knew earlier this administration in Kishinev, but was not familiar with exploitation of the estates. Neither had I seen any of the estates.

Leaving St. Petersburg, I received an official assignment to visit the office of the above-mentioned institution and make acquaintance with its work. This assignment gave me a chance to visit the Monastery of St. Kiprian not very far from Kishinev.

I admired there the oak forest which was grown and maintained irreproachably. I did not see other estates, but according to the documents which I could read in the office, they were rented by private persons who offered the best conditions in sealed envelopes. All this certainly was known in St. Petersburg. I simply used the chance supposing that it could be of use for me if I had continued my public service in the Ministry of Agriculture.

During the evening which I passed in the Kiprian Monastery, I had a conversation with a monk who came to see me. He told me that he was an expert in vine-growing and that he prepared a manuscript written in Moldavian because he did not know sufficient Russian to write it in the Russian language.

He expressed his disappointment that it proved to be very difficult to publish his manuscript because the circulation of such a book in Moldavia could be but very limited. "What a great privilege," he told me, "to be a citizen of such an empire as Russia is, and to speak its language."

This exclamation of a modest, intelligent monk impressed me very much. I did not think before about the advantages which have intellectuals, writers, scholars, inventors, who are citizens of Russia and of every other great empire, especially Great Britain and the United States, and consequently of the English speaking world, or of France and consequently of the countries speaking the French language.

I will not add something else about my short time sojourn in Bessarabia. There was nothing of a special interest except,

Guins: maybe, an occasion when I was suspected to be a German spy.

Raymond: Why not, as it was certainly connected with the war?

Guins: Well, it happened on the Russian-Rumanian frontier. My family was living in the estate of my uncle, located on the river Prut, the frontier with Rumania. It was August, one of the best seasons in Bessarabia.

At the same time when I arrived for taking my family to Kishinev, there were among the guests of my uncle several young girls, my cousins. They asked me to accompany them to the oak grove on the slope of a high hill located in the distance of several miles in a picturesque way. I agreed, and when we arrived there we decided to climb the hill.

The carriage remained below. Two of my cousins and I succeeded to reach the summit from which opened a beautiful view. On the other slope of the hill was a bashtan (vegetable garden) watched by its possessor, a Moldavian peasant. I began to ask him about the names of villages which were visible from the summit.

Later I asked him to sell me several watermelons. The price he asked seemed to me very modest, and without bargaining I gave him a round amount, which did not surpass twenty kopeks. Then we turned back. Our carriage was behind the trees. We could not see it from the hills, but we remembered the direction and found it without troubles.

We returned home after sunset. I forgot to say that my cousins preferred to speak French as it was used in their family.

It was still dark when the next morning my wife and I were awakened by somebody who knocked at the window. I raised the curtain and saw an uriadnik (village policeman). "Excuse me, sir," he told me. "May I ask you whether you were last evening in the oak grove?"

"Yes, I was."

"Did you ask about the names of villages?"

"Yes," I answered.

"And you bought some watermelons without bargaining? And you spoke a foreign language?"

"Yes."

Guins: "That is all I wanted to ask you, sir."

"But what is the matter?" I asked in turn.

"Oh, you see the peasant left his vegetable garden and was hurrying to look for me and tell me that foreigners arrived; that their carriage he could not see and that he did not know what direction they disappeared to. He told me that the foreigners wanted to know the names of the villages in the valley. He added also that the foreigners had much money and paid a high price for watermelons."

"I could not guess," said the uriadnik, "who the people were, and decided to ask several landowners in the neighborhood and living close to the frontier."

It seems to me that the story was interesting from two points of view. First, the villagers were already informed about the war; and second, the Moldavian peasants considered Russia their country and the enemies of Russia their enemies.

Return to St. Petersburg

Raymond: How soon did you return to St. Petersburg?

Guins: Approximately two weeks after my arrival in Kishinev. In the office of the Voinskii nachalnik, his secretary asserted to me again that there still was no plan to mobilize reservists. And when I asked him whether it would be better to volunteer, he told me that I will be appointed to one of the military offices for routine work and that I could be more useful in St. Petersburg.

I decided to return and not to leave my family in Bessarabia.

Military Operations

In the meantime, the military operations on the front developed. The offensive had already started in accordance with the wishes of the French government. It is not necessary to remind you

Guins: that the offensive was not successful because it was premature and not at all sufficiently prepared.

There were many wounded. The Red Cross trains with nurses and servicemen were returning from the front with the mutilated and wounded soldiers. On the other side there were trains with newly mobilized people going to the front. At the station it was possible to see both trains.

On the platform on one such station I had a conversation with a soldier going to the front. He said to me that the people believed that after the war is over there will be many changes which will improve the life and conditions of people such as himself. Was he a worker or poor peasant? I did not know.

Raymond: How did the war influence the activity of your ministry?

Guins: Our ministry adjusted to the conditions of wartime. Resettlement was suspended, irrigation projects and land organization reduced. The main problem became the supply of armies with food.

Nobody was surprised that Minister Krivoshein asked my chief to send me to the Public Library--one of the largest in Russia, like the Library of Congress in Washington--to study what was undertaken by the Russian government after the patriotic War of 1812 with Napoleon.

After a very intensive study of the old laws, decrees, and orders issued in 1812 to 1815, I had to certify that nothing was done. I found only a manifesto in which the Emperor expressed to the Russian people en masse his gratitude for their patriotism and for their help to the armies to be victorious.

Living Conditions Deteriorate

In the meantime the conditions of life in Russia began to worsen. I don't remember exactly whether it was in 1914 or 1915 when there were already some troubles in supplying and distributing food, especially grain, and a deficiency in some products like sugar, which Russia earlier exported in great quantities. This phenomenon appeared during the war partly because of the shortages of workers, but mostly because of the mass supply of the armies.

Guins: Anyway, it was necessary to regulate the production and distribution of sugar. This was the beginning of the organization of the special Committee for Food Supplies. It was staffed with the government officers who were not really overworked during the war, for instance, the officers and employees of the Resettlement Department. Almost all of them received assignments to the Committee.

Legal Advisor to the Committee for Food Supplies

I continued to support my former personal connection with my former co-workers of the Department of Resettlement, and I was invited to take part in this committee as its legal counsel, for editing the decrees and regulations and for consultations of legal character.

Since that time and up to April of 1917, I had two different functions: one as an employee of the office of the Minister of Agriculture, and the other as the legal advisor of the Committee for Food Supply.

Wartime Governmental Changes

Guins: In connection with the war, there were many changes in the policy of the government. The changes were for worse, not for better. I have to remind that after the first Russian revolution the new fundamental laws of 1906 determined that the Council of Ministers is headed by the minister president of the Council, who unifies the activities of all members of the government.

If that provision had been observed, the activities of the government would have been better organized and unified. But in practice, neither Witte in 1906 nor his successor Gromykin nor Stolypin were empowered to choose candidates for the post of minister and to replace them.

I know only one exception. Stolypin recommended Professor Kasso to the post of Minister of Education. Kasso was appointed and became one of the worst ministers. Stolypin was the strongest man, yet all members of the government, other ministers, had their own access to the Emperor and presented to him their reports. And some of them had even greater

Guins: influence than the president of the Council of Ministers.

Stolypin was killed in 1911. And after the death of Stolypin, Kokovtsev had even less power and influence in Tsarskoe Selo than Stolypin.

The choice of the Minister of Education by Stolypin was therefore a unique act in the history of the presidents of the Council of Ministers, because it was his choice and the Emperor signed the appointment.

Ministers of Foreign Affairs, War, and the Navy were independent because the Emperor was the supreme head of the Army and Navy, and he was responsible for diplomatic relations. But all other ministers, at least under Kokovtsev, successor to Stolypin, were more dependent on the Emperor than on the Council of Ministers as an organized body.

Krivoshein, for example, still not being formally minister, had a great influence in Tsarskoe Selo. The Tsar liked him. When, after the beginning of the war, Krivoshein offered to change the name of the capital, St. Petersburg was renamed Petrograd. This new name was unfortunately suggested, as much as I know, by my chief, Tkhorzhevskii. Krivoshein liked it, told it to the Tsar, and the Tsar agreed.

The subsequent events, when Petrograd was renamed Leningrad, proved that it was a great mistake to erase historical names.

I remember that at that time, in 1914 to 1915, many people with foreign names, foreigners by origin, changed their names or russianized them. The renaming of the capital had been an act of the same character.

But some other ideas and plans suggested by Krivoshein to the Tsar were more wise.

The Problem of Poland

During the war the problem of Poland began to shape up in connection with the unsuccessful campaign on the Russian-German front. The German troops began to invade Poland. Chief Tkhorzhevskii, according to the instructions of Minister Krivoshein, prepared a project of a manifesto declaring that after the war the Polish nation will be united, that "the living body of Poland, sectioned by the partitions, will be reunited."

Guins: Krivoshein presented his rough draft to the Council of Ministers, but it was not issued in the form of a manifesto but as a declaration of the Commander-in-Chief of the Russian Armies, the Grand Duke Nikolai Nikolaevich.

Breakdown of Intra-governmental Order and Communication

I mentioned this story as one of the examples of how some significant acts had their origin not in the office of the president of the Council of Ministers but in the offices of some particular ministers. The latter were at least members of an organized board, the Council of Ministers.

It was much worse when various advices of irresponsible persons and circles which surrounded the Emperor behind the scenes became effective. And as a result of these influences, there were so many rapid changes in the government itself that nobody was sure that anything which was started now would be continued for a long time. Kokavtsev retired.

Raymond: When did such influences begin to increase?

Guins: It is difficult to indicate an exact date, but it became obvious since the Emperor decided to replace the Grand Duke Nikolai Nikolaevich as the Commander-in-Chief and to occupy this position personally.

Krivoshein was nervous because he was one of those members of the government who tried to convince the Emperor not to leave the capital and not to replace the Grand Duke as the Commander-in-Chief of troops on the front. And it was more or less unexpected for the staff when Krivoshein referring to his sickness resigned as chief of the institution.

It was at that time when, according to the suggestion of Krivoshein to the Tsar, our institution was returned to its earlier name of the Ministry of Agriculture. It is for this reason that I used this name earlier simply to shorten it.

But after the resignation of Krivoshein, the heads of our ministry replaced one another very often. The first, as I remember, was Count Alexei Boblinskii, a member of a very influential family in the capital. He was replaced by quite a new man, a former marshall of the nobility in the Samara government, Aldr Naumov. In 1916 he was an elected member of the State Council.

Guins: Naumov had a reputation of a man with initiative. He was very intelligent and somebody advised the Emperor to replace Boblinskii with Naumov. But from the point of view of conservatives surrounding the Tsar, Naumov proved to be a very liberal man.

He wanted to have close connections with the State Duma. Once he said to my chief Tkhorzhevskii that he wanted to have a constant connection with the State Duma. "Send one employee there," he said, "in order to know what is going on and in order to warn me through him when it will be necessary for me to appear or undertake something."

Meetings of the State Duma

I was chosen for that assignment and began to visit the meetings of the State Duma. I had no other place than in the loge of ministers. In this loge, there were places for the employees of various ranks. In the first row there was a place for the president of the Council of Ministers and ministers, in the second perhaps for the assistants of ministers, and the third and fourth for other government employees and advisors.

I took my place in the third row and when the chairman of the State Duma passed by, he probably supposed that I had a high post, and seeing me as a new man in the loge welcomed me. But there was some kind of surprise showing in his eyes when my presence became an ordinary phenomenon from day to day.

I told my chief that this was a very dubious undertaking because I felt uncomfortable there in that circle, and, from my point of view, it was not absolutely necessary to go. And my assignment was soon cancelled.

Krivoshein and his Successors

Raymond: Had you direct contact with the minister?

Guins: I had no direct contact and even saw our ministers very seldom. The minister's premises were more or less isolated and their business contacts were limited by the special schedule for each day. Only the deputy minister or his assistants, the directors of the departments, or acting directors had a direct contact.

Guins: Due to such a system, which, I believe, is the same everywhere, I had only once the chance to have a very short conversation with Krivoshein. It was during a special reception at his hall, when all officials, myself among them, were presented to the minister on occasion of the promotions and various awards for excellent service.

Krivoshein's appearance and manners were very attractive. No wonder that he won Tsar's favor. He established also friendly relations with the members of the State Duma and representatives of the foreign press in St. Petersburg.

Raymond: Was he so eloquent as Stolypin was?

Guins: Not at all. Neither was he a statesman of Stolypin's caliber. He hardly was able to work out personally a great scale program of reforms. But in his ministry he was an able leader with definite purposes and ideas.

I should say that he was interested also in some other problems. For example, he had contacts with Dmowski, a Polish politician who was for a while the member of the third State Duma. They discussed the problem of the post-war future of Poland, and Tkhorzhevskii worked out a project of the Polish constitution.

As you know, after the February revolution of 1917, the provisional government declared the independence of Poland. This act was prepared earlier, but met a strong opposition.

Out of the three successors of Krivoshein, Count Alexei Boblinskii, Alexander N. Naumov, and A. A. Rittikh, the first left his post so quickly that I could not form any opinion about him as a leader of the ministry.

Naumov was the most accessible and the only one who expressed his desire to meet all the officers of the personnel. Tkhorzhevskii once warned us not to leave the office until the minister made his rounds. When Naumov entered my room I was reading a French magazine, "The Revue Politique et Parlementaire," as I remember, and he asked me what I was reading.

I told him that it was an article whose author warned his compatriots that Russia will win after the war more than any other power. Naumov was very surprised and exclaimed, "Such an unfriendliness already." How Russia won we know now better. That was an example of how difficult it is to predict something for the near future.

Guins: As I have told earlier, Naumov tried to emphasize his wish to be in close relations with the State Duma. He gave in the Duma a speech which he composed himself to my best knowledge. But he left his post soon after he refused to receive Rasputin.

At the end of 1916, Naumov was replaced by Alexander A. Rittikh. He had been Director of the Department of Domains and successfully carried out for a number of years the land organization. Rittikh proved to be the last Minister of Agriculture of the pre-revolutionary time.

Acts of the Ministry of Education

Raymond: Professor Guins, you can probably characterize also the activities of the Ministry of Education.

Guins: Well, I mentioned earlier Kasso, and not accidentally. After he became minister, he began to dispose of universities at his own will, ignoring the autonomy of the universities which was acknowledged and restored in 1906.

Kasso transferred some professors from Moscow and St. Petersburg to Kazan, Kharkov, and other universities under the pretext that it was necessary to advance higher education in the provincial universities and to attract more students to the provincial universities.

In fact, undoubtedly, he did it because he wanted to have in the universities of St. Petersburg and Moscow professors of moderate political sympathies and because he wanted the professors to be more dependent on the Ministry. In fact, all professors who were transferred from the province to St. Petersburg were people who had no political reputation; they were mostly apolitical.

As a result, I lost those professors with whom I had close connections at the time when I started to prepare myself for professorship. The new professors of civil and commercial law encouraged me to continue preparations for professorship.

On the other hand, conditions for such kind of work became more favorable. Because of the war and also due to the constant changes of the ministers, the scope of my work in the ministry decreased. There were no more publications and no projects which could require special study and literary comments.

Guins: In 1915, we had completed almost all undertakings of the pre-war period. In connection with the needs of the war-time some new problems arose. It became necessary to secure supply of the great army with food, the cities with fuel. It was necessary to coordinate transportation of troops and various kinds of supply for the armies with the ordinary movements and services of the railroads.

For these purposes three special organizations were established: the Committee for Supply, attached to the Ministry of Agriculture, the Committee for Fuel, attached to the Ministry of Trade and Industry, and the Committee for regulating the exploitation of the railways, attached to the Ministry of the Ways of Communications.

As I told already, I was legal counsel of the Committee for Supply. It was my supplementary job and a kind of contribution to the war needs. At the initial stage it was not onerous.

Raymond: How did the war affect the Ministry of Education?

Guins: There were some favorable changes. The general conditions in the University were improved after the death of Minister Kasso. On the eve of the war Kasso was in Germany in one of the German spas. After the declaration of the war and when he had to cross the German frontier for returning to Russia, he was treated in such a manner that he became more sick than he was before leaving for Germany.

He died soon after his return and was replaced by Count Pavel Nikolaevich Ignatiev. We knew him as an assistant to Minister Krivoshein. He belonged to an historical family, the members of which were always close to the emperors. Some of them were ambassadors, the others administrators of high ranks and generals.

Count Pavel N. Ignatiev proved to be a very progressive Minister of Education. Through his initiative--this needs to be mentioned--the project of the Law of Universal Education was worked out, offered to the State Duma, and became law before the revolution of 1917.

Had this law been applied if there had not been a revolution we would have the same results, if not better, as those occurring after the revolution on the basis of the measures undertaken by the Soviet government.

Ignatiev, as the Minister of Education, approved the project of opening a new university in Perm, originally as a filial of the University of Petrograd. To assist its development, to

Guins: connect it very closely to the University of Petrograd, it was supposed that the privat-docents of the latter would be offered to go to Perm and to become there professors. I was not surprised that I was also offered to take this position.

I decided to ask my chief in the Office of the Minister of Agriculture for permission to go to Perm for orientation, and he was so kind as to give me a special assignment. My trip was thus paid for. Since the assignment was not very important, it is not necessary here to explain it.

It was in August, 1916. However, my impressions of Perm did not dispose me to accept the offer of professorship there. The university was practically in the state of organization. I could only see the building destined to become the premise of the university.

Perm was a typical provincial city, much less attractive than, for example, Kishinev, and incomparable with Odessa. It is easy to understand that the university during the first years of its existence could not have a good library.

And for a man like me, who only passed his examinations giving the right to teach and to present the work for getting the first scientific degree of "magister", Petrograd could be a much more favorable place for preparing a dissertation.

Ministerial Upheavals

I returned from Perm to Petrograd, but even there the conditions for scientific work became not favorable. The troubles of the country became more and more noticeable. Tkhorzhevskii resigned. That was a bad symptom. He changed his high government post in order to become a member of the board of Treugolnik (Triangle), a great Russian-American enterprise of the rubber industry. There he had a much higher salary than as an official.

Another man whom I knew well, Litvinoff-Olinskii, resigned too. I mentioned him as a Bessarabian by origin in whose house students from Bessarabia met when Litvinoff had been inspector of industrial relations in St. Petersburg. In 1916 he was already Tovarishch Ministra (Assistant Minister of Trade and Industry. After resignation he became a member of the board of the Trade and Industrial Bank which also was mentioned as one of the great financial concerns which

Guins: controlled a number of enterprises.

What was the reason of such decisions? People who had high positions with the government in St. Petersburg were very disappointed with the course of policy. They began to lose confidence in the future. After the murder of Rasputin in December, 1916, confusion in the highest spheres strengthened and the moods in the country were becoming more and more strained.

The Ration Card System

I received in January, 1917, an assignment to go to different parts of the country, at that time not as an official of the Office of the Ministry, but as a legal counsel of the special Committee for Food Supply.

The pretext was that at that time it was already necessary to introduce ration cards for distributing some kinds of food among the citizens limiting the amount of food they could acquire--including not only sugar, as it was already established, but also milk, butter, meat, and even bread.

It was therefore necessary to obtain various information which could help in organization of the rationing system from the point of view of the purposes and forms of regulation. I visited at first Samara and Yelets.

Samara is a very big city on the bank of the Volga River. Yelets is a small city in the Orlovskaja gubernia in the middle of Russia. After Yelets I visited Revel, the future capital of Estonia in order to compare the conditions in different parts of Russia.

Raymond: What were you doing?

Guins: I visited the administrative institutions and asked them whether the necessity for regulation existed and if they proposed to introduce the regulation or, if the ration cards existed already, what norms were established and how the system of regulation had been organized.

Glimpse of Rasputin

Guins: As I told already, the last Minister of Agriculture was Rittikh. But before continuing my statement on the last months of my pre-revolutionary service in the Ministry of Agriculture, I want to relate to you how once in my life I had a chance to see Rasputin in an incident on the premises of our ministry.

It was at the time when Naumov was Minister of Agriculture. And I should say that Naumov differed in many aspects from other ministers I had known. For example, he was the only one who visited the employees of the Chancellery of the Ministry. He wanted to know personally all people who were co-workers of his Chief of the Chancellery.

He emphasized his respect toward the State Duma at the time when people who surrounded the emperor disposed him against this imperfect yet representative body--the only representative body. He had been a man who had experience as a public worker in local self-government, the zemstvo, and he appreciated this institution.

At the same time he was closely connected with both the nobility, as a marshal of nobility in the Samara government, and with the lesser groups. Finally, he demonstrated his eloquence when he was giving his speech in the State Duma and displayed his spirit of independence of the so-called "influential spheres," and his personal courage.

Once, during Naumov's ministry, one of my co-workers entered very quickly into my office and asked me if I wanted to see Rasputin, who had just come to the Ministry. Well, how could I say no? I followed him. We walked downstairs from the third floor where my office was to the second floor, and we could see Rasputin already descending from the second floor to the first.

So I only saw his back. We were surprised by his prompt retreat, for we were informed that he just came. At that moment Rasputin turned, clenching his fist, as I remember, and crossed the antechamber. In a short time everybody in the Ministry knew that when Rasputin asked to be received by the minister, the minister ordered him answered that he did not see any reason for this kind of reception. And besides that, he was too busy for conversations with such kind of people as Rasputin. So there was nothing else for Rasputin to do but go away.

Guins: But very soon after that Naumov lost his position.

Raymond: How interesting!

Naumov Resigns as Minister of Agriculture

Guins: Naumov's resignation was explained by his dissatisfaction with the conditions of his work as the chief of the supply of armies and population with food. I must witness that as it was known to us Minister Naumov was discouraged, after approximately one year of work, with the system of conflicting influences and contradictory acts of various institutions and persons.

For example, orders of the commanders of the field forces had changed the plans of transportation of food for the supply of industrial centers and the capital. A larger part of the purchased supply was demanded for the southern front than for the northern, or vice versa. The minister of the ways of communications disposed the transport, as the head of the committee on transportation, and did not satisfy the requirements of the Minister of Agriculture.

According to the opinion of Naumov, it was necessary to concentrate the highest power in the hands on one person. He thought that it would be the most natural if such a person had been the chairman of the Council of Ministers, but he did not see the right man in the right place at that time. Thus he had nothing to do but to resign.

But there was a suspicion that Rasputin had complained and that it was decided that such a man as Naumov had to be replaced. I wish to say that Naumov published his memoirs, but I purposely did not read them in order to say what I knew and how I knew it.

Rittikh as Minister of Agriculture

Raymond: Will you talk now about Naumov's successor?

Guins: As I told already, the last Minister of Agriculture was Rittikh. Once, in the middle of February, 1917, he invited several chiefs

Guins: of the department and me, as the legal counsel of the Committee for Food Supplies, and informed us that he had decided to change the system for price regulation.

There was another problem. Before distributing ration cards, it was certainly necessary to secure the supply. In the meantime, there was at that time a lack of supply in St. Petersburg of flour, and the bakeries were unable to offer for sale sufficient quantities of bread.

In order to secure the order in the capital it was necessary to purchase more grain. For this reason the Minister decided to empower all local representatives of the Committee for Food Supply to offer higher prices in their regions if, from their point of view, they would win increasing offers on the part of peasants and traders.

For this purpose it was necessary to issue a special order, and he had invited us to formulate the decision. I dared to offer him some questions. I told him that his plan was understood, but I was interested whether the Minister had foreseen that if the prices would be raised in such a manner everybody who had grain for sale would speculate, expecting still higher prices.

For the first moment, it would be possible that prices would be raised only in several parts of the country and in the other parts, however, this would not be known. But it would be soon found out by the interested people. The Minister answered me that right now there was no time to discuss such questions, that his order must be formulated and carried out.

Soon after this meeting, I had a conversation with a competent person who supported the decision of Rittikh as quite expedient, supposing that some time later the whole system of supply would be revised.

That was hardly more than a week before the February revolution.

Premonitions of Revolution

Raymond: Professor Guins, before the revolution took place, do you remember personally anticipating anything of the vast scale

Raymond: that actually happened? Were you expecting some radical changes to take place?

Guins: Do you mean in the capital or in the whole country?

Raymond: In the whole country.

Guins: We could expect some disorders in the large cities, as people might go to get food and not find it. Expression of dissatisfaction and indignation and demonstrations of dissatisfied people seemed to be inevitable, but nobody supposed that there would be a revolution.

During my journey in January, I could see crowds of people in the stations waiting for trains during several days and sleeping on the large floor in the halls of the stations. And when I saw the trains with such passengers, I felt how advantageous was my position as a representative of the government having special tickets for travelling.

Such drastic contrasts were discouraging, but most disturbing had been the difficulties of the war, the retreats and the lack of good prospects. The general conditions could only become poorer and poorer. Yet I did not think about revolution, and, I believe, not only myself. I did not hear from anybody that we were on the eve of the revolution.

Raymond: Were you in Petrograd when the population started revolting in February, 1917? Do you remember your reactions?

Guins: Yes, I was. Several days before the revolution I attended the meeting of the Committee. There was less work for me in the Ministry's office and more work in the Committee.

My new chief, successor of Tkhorzhevskii, was A. A. Znosko-Borovskii, who was very close to the new Minister Rittikh as his co-worker in the Department of State Domains. Borovskii became very well disposed toward me after I had successfully performed one of his important charges.

He asked me to write a draft of the manifesto which had to be discussed by the Council of Ministers and then be presented to the Tsar. Usually several ministers offered their drafts for approval of the Council, and the one chosen as the best by the Council of Ministers, sometimes with corrections, was presented to the Emperor by the chairman of the Council of Ministers.

Guins: I prepared a draft, and Znosko-Borovskii was so impressed that he decided that it was I, and not Tkhorzhevskii, who had been the writer of all documents in the office. I denied it and tried quite sincerely to assure him that I was, as it had been in fact, just a student and imitator of Tkhorzhevskii, who possessed in fact a rare literary gift. But I do not know whether he believed me or not.

Yet my reputation was consolidated still more when Rittikh informed Znosko-Borovskii that the Council of Ministers approved the draft presented by him with only one inconsiderable correction. I had pleasure to read afterwards the manifesto signed by the Emperor in its original wording. Certainly I do not remember now what kind of manifesto it was.

Anyhow, after this happy accident, I used still more freedom than I had earlier and could devote almost all my free time to the Committee for Food Supply and my activity as a beginner in the academic field.

Let me return now to the last days before the revolution. As I have mentioned, I attended the meeting of the Committee for Food Supply. Almost during the whole evening there were discussions connected with the burning question about a better coordination of the railway transportation.

Professor P. B. Struve and the representative of the Ministry of the Ways of Communications could not find common opinion and the discussion consisted in continuous exchange of arguments between these two competent members of the committee. At last it was discontinued, at about eleven p.m.

The assistant to the Minister of Agriculture, Mr. Grudistov was so kind as to offer to the chief of the office of the committee, N. A. Gavrilov, and his assistants, among whom was myself, to take a place in the ministry's car. I could not hear what Grudistov whispered to Gavrilov, but some words, "Ochen, ochen opasno," ("It is a very, very dangerous situation") were pronounced sufficiently loudly for me to hear without eavesdropping.

Next morning I had to start at the University my new course offered for the spring session, "The Legislation on Food Supply during the Wartime." During 1916, the organization of the national economy had been significantly transformed in almost all countries involved in the First World War.

Germany, as the most isolated nation during the war, started the first to introduce special norms for production and control over the prices on the products of mass consumption.

Guins: England and Russia followed Germany. Russia's spaciousness complicated the supply, because her railways were overloaded with the transportation of troops and ammunitions. Concentration of troops in various centers required certain measures for preventing storage and speculation.

Consumption of sugar increased significantly because of state purchases for the armies. Prices were fixed in Russia at first for sugar, but it became soon clear that rationing of sugar production, price, and distribution had to be followed by the regulation of prices on grains and other products. The activity of the three wartime committees of supply, of fuel, and of transportation was growing and widening more and more.

I offered at the University my course of the comparative system of regimentation of national economy during the war, supposing that such a course would be not only of actual interest but also very instructive, as far as it could explain and appraise the difference between the free economy and the system of regimentation from several points of view.

But no students enrolled. I left my empty class and, going out into the University corridor, joined a meeting of a group of students.

The February Revolution

Guins: A speaker informed a considerable group of listeners that the Tavrida Palace (the State Duma's premises) was surrounded by the revolting troops, that workers were moving from the industrial regions into the center of the capital, and that the fall of the Tsarist regime was inevitable.

The listeners were silent. There was no expression of pleasure or satisfaction. Everybody was stupified, as was I. I hurried to reach the office of the Ministry. There I was informed at once that a directive was declared to all employees to go home, because the bridges over the Neva would be raised and swung open.

Obviously everybody was already informed about the events. It would be difficult to conceal in the capital. I entered the study room of our chief, Znosko-Borovskii. He asserted

Guins: that it was a revolution, and when I asked what was his reaction he answered that the war would be lost and the appearance of Germans in the capital could be the result.

These were anxious days. We heard lots of rumors but for a while no real facts of what happened. Two days later the abdication of the Tsar was declared, and later of the Grand Duke Michail, the Tsar's brother, who did not agree to succeed Nicholas II.

It is difficult at present to remember exactly, without have in any documents in hand, when the situation became more clear but not more consoling. The new temporary government was organized from the members of the State Duma with Prince L'vov at its head.

At the same time, the Soviet of Workers and Soldiers' Deputies was organized. Both the provisional government and the Soviet of Deputies issued orders. The February Revolution originated the dual power.

Personal and Public Reactions to the Revolution

Raymond: Professor Guins, I would like to ask you at this point to give me a brief, personal reaction that you had to the abdication of the Tsar and also a brief summary about your feelings at that time about the Emperor.

Guins: My feeling was that the revolution was a catastrophe. And I told that to everybody. It was a catastrophe because it was during the war and especially because the conditions on the front and inside the country were grave. At the same time there was some data that the production of armaments was successfully increasing and if any new complications had not destroyed the well-adjusted production the conditions on the front could be improved.

Revolution could, of course, complicate rather than improve the conditions on the front. There were so many doubts! Would it be possible to arrange successfully a new government and secure its prestige, to let it solve at once some urgent problems of the war, and at the same time to meet problems which had created the revolution itself?

Such were the doubts which worried a great number of Russian people, even those who welcomed the revolution. I must acknowledge that at present, almost fifty years after

Guins: the February Revolution of 1917, many problems and doubts become more clear and easier to formulate than in March, 1917.

Yet we have still to repeat that the Russian Revolution at the beginning of 1917 seemed to many people to be a political catastrophe. This feeling had been strengthened then by the fact that since the first days of the revolution not a single but a dual system of government proved to exist--the provisional government, and the Soviet of Workers and Soldiers' Deputies.

Raymond: Did you find satisfactory the provisional government, as regards its members and their authority?

Guins: I found that the provisional government consisted of very reliable and competent people. Miliukov, who became Minister of Foreign Affairs, was probably the best candidate for such a post among the Russian politicians. The new head of the Ministry of Agriculture, A. I. Shingarev, was a very respected member of the State Duma.

But there was a confusing fact. Simultaneously with all former ministers, all deputies and assistant ministers and almost all directors of the departments had to resign or simply be deprived of their positions. The government machine lost at once its most experienced administrators. A perfect member of the State Duma could not replace a professional administrator.

But there was still another doubt. This doubt was suggested to me by an accidental exclamation on the street. Several people were standing in front of a poster and were reading the announcement about the new provisional government. One of these people who read it suddenly exclaimed, "Well, we have at present nine Tsars instead of one."

This exclamation amazed me. I did not think about the hundred million people for whom the names of politicians and experts who became members of the provisional government could not replace the one name--the name of the Tsar.

Raymond: Do you suppose that is was the reaction of only rank-and-file people?

Guins: I believe that it was approximately so. But there were some exceptions. We know that Miliukov, who, I am sure, preferred personally republic to monarchy--even a constitutional monarchy--tried nevertheless to convince the Tsar to abdicate

Guins: personally only, to preserve monarchy and legal succession.

As to the great mass of people, they hardly could understand a collective body as a supreme power. The names of our popular politicians did not promise anything, while the name of Tsar had been a symbol of unity, of supreme power, of stability.

When I heard the exclamation about "nine Tsars," I was reminded of my impression during my traveling in the remote parts of the empire.

Raymond: Did you, anyhow, remain optimistic?

Guins: Maybe for a while. Remembering myself as I had been at that time, I should say that I was not sufficiently prepared for a serious analysis of the situation. I was occupied with my academic plans, very interested in the activity of the Ministry of Agriculture and of the Committee for Food Supply, and almost ignorant as far as the activity of the leftists was concerned.

As I told you, I had grown up in the atmosphere which trained me in conservatism and cautiousness. Besides, the conditions of my own life--the early death of my father and my wish not to be a burden for my mother--required from me intensive working, which did not let me widen my political horizons.

But what I could and succeeded to acquire during seven years of my public service was the knowledge of the administrative machinery. And what I understood very quickly after the February Revolution of 1917 was the inadequacy of the new government for ruling the great empire under the conditions which demanded a great energy, administrative experience, determination, and the capacity to inspire masses of the population.

The central government of the pre-revolutionary time was composed of less able people, but they had administrative experience and possessed an appropriate apparatus in which to operate.

Raymond: May I ask you to elaborate your opinion?

Guins: My opinion was based first of all on my personal impressions. The chief of the office of the Ministry of Agriculture, Znosko-Borovskii, was replaced by another person. I forgot

Guins: his name. I cannot even remember his face. Because of my particular and often confidential functions, I was very close to his predecessors, but I had no contact with the new chief. Probably he never invited me for any assignment. Neither did I know anything about the plans and intentions of the new minister. He had his own intimate co-workers.

I continued to work therefore more intensively with the Committee for Food Supply which, as it was explained, had been attached to the Ministry of Agriculture. Almost all directors of the departments of the Ministry were replaced by the new people. Were they more able or not? I cannot say, for I did not know them and soon left the Ministry of Agriculture. I will relate how it occurred a little later.

At present I want to continue to relate my impressions as regards the new administration. Minister Shingarev did not come, as Naumov did, to see and meet the personnel of his office, and we did not know him more than we did before--according to the newspapers only. He was probably occupied more than his predecessor with the general policy.

The last of my meetings with Minister Rittikh was connected with the problem of prices and methods of securing the supply of grain. After the February Revolution this problem, to our common surprise, ceased to be so urgent. Why? And for how long a period?

We could hear only that there were sufficient quantities of food in the capital and only the distribution was unsatisfactory. The improvement had not been, however, a durable one. A shortage of bread and other products of food was becoming again a disquieting problem.

Shingarev continued to sit down in his ministerial study or to be absent taking part in the political discussions of the provisional government. We did not feel his presence. My impression was that there was no vital connection between the old apparatus and the new leaders of the government.

Once I was surprised to see in the building of our Ministry Professor Petrazicki. I asked him for what did he come? And he told me that he advised Shingarev, as his fellow member of the Constitutional Democratic Party, not to stay in the capital but to visit various parts of the country to make the provisional government and himself more popular and to explain to the countrymen the structure of the government and its political and social program.

Reorganization of the Committee for Food Supply

Raymond: How had the Committee for Food Supply worked after the February Revolution?

Guins: I am glad to hear your question. It reminds me of the story of the reorganization of that committee. Shingarev composed a project of the reorganization, and I do not know who helped him in that work.

According to the new project, the committee had to include representatives of cooperative organizations and several experts: economists, statisticians, and persons close to the peasantry and to the army.

The composition of the committee increased at once after the February events. I do not know whether all new members were invited by the Minister himself or if some of them were assigned by the Soviet of the Workers and Soldiers' Deputies.

Some of the new members were mostly representatives of the leftist political parties, and their attitude toward the representatives of the old administration was unfavorable. One of the new members was Adrian Mikhailov, who became a more conspicuous person later during the existence of the so-called Omsk government.

Supposing that the project was prepared by the legal counsel and his assistant, who was at that time my colleague at the University, privat docent Alexander Bogolievov, specialist in the state law, Mikhailov characterized to us the project as a "revolutionary curiosity."

"At the time," he said, "when everybody expects universal suffrage on the basis of direct and equal representation we have to discuss a kind of curial representation." His reproach had been certainly more curious than the project.

My assistant reminded Mikhailov how complicated is the election system on the basis which he suggested. Nobody supported Mikhailov's objection against the project approved if not authorized by Minister Shingarev. I came with my assistant to explain and defend the project, which we received in its final wording.

Raymond: Was the project of the reorganization of the committee enforced?

Guins: Yes. It was approved by the provisional government. I

Guins: remember that among the new members of the committee appeared such an expert in rural economy as Naum Jasnyi, Mr. Gromant, a statistician, Mr. Shub, and many others. But soon another unexpected reform followed: the committee was separated from the Ministry of Agriculture and a new ministry was organized--the Ministry of Supply.

The whole apparatus of the Committee of Supply was transferred from the Ministry of Agriculture to the new Ministry of Supply, and I became its chief legal counsel. That is what I did not tell you earlier and postponed while relating my activity as an official of the Ministry of Agriculture.

The activities of the new ministry developed very quickly. I want to add that before the revolution it was necessary to issue a special law for organizing a new ministry or even a department of the ministry. Such a law had to be discussed and approved by the State Duma and State Council and confirmed by the Emperor.

It was also necessary to have a special budget and a special staff with the ranks and salary approved by law and projected in conformity with the Ministry of Finance and the state control.

After the revolution, everything was simplified. The Duma and the State Council were dissolved. The provisional government assumed not only executive but also legislative power.

The New Ministry of Supply

The new Ministry had so many sections and such a large number of employees that it occupied the Anichkov Palace on the corner of Nevskii Prospect (Avenue) and Fontanka. All the premises of that palace were occupied. The luxurious reception hall was used for the conferences and meetings. The private apartment of the widow of the Emperor Alexander III were occupied by the Minister Peshekhonov.

It is interesting to note that the palace contained besides the above-mentioned large hall several luxurious rooms, but the apartment of the Empress Maria Fedorovna, mother of Nicholas II, was very modest. Its walls and the furniture were upholstered in modest and simple chintz. It gave the impression that the members of the Tsar's family

Guins: were longing for a simple coziness and at least a short-time solitude.

My office as chief counsel was a part of the apartment which probably was earlier occupied by one of the high-ranking employees of the Empress's court. When I was a student of the University, I visited once in the Anichkov Palace, in the same wing of the palace where I later worked, another student, Nikolai Boldyrev.

The apartments were occupied by General V. Boldyrev, whose two brilliant sons Basil and Dimitry were students and philosophers. One of them was a jurist and took part like me in the seminar of the Professor Petrazicki. The door was opened by their sister, whom later I knew well in Harbin, Manchuria.

Dimitry died in Irkutsk prison from typhus; the fate of Basil Boldyrev I do not know. Working in the same wing of the palace, also on the second floor, I thought about the reverses of fortune.

My office, like the other institutions of the new ministry, began to develop, and the number of the employees increased. A special organization for examination of claims connected with the transportation was joined to my section.

Julii Slutskii, my classmate in the Kishinev gymnasium, was invited as my new assistant. He graduated from the Odessa (Novorossiskii) University and was an expert in the railway law. I needed a specialist well acquainted with the legal cases connected with the transportation of goods. Slutskii was co-worker of one of the best specialists in that matter, the attorney-at-law Rabinovich.

One of my other assistants, a former attorney-at-law, was recommended to me by Professor B. M. Nechaev, due to whose recommendation I received in 1909 the assignment to Turkestan. As clerks I had two young ladies and a girl whom I knew as a worker in the library of the University.

I offered her a better place in my office. She rendered me later a very significant service helping to evade possible troubles after the occupation of the palace by the Bolsheviks.

Raymond: Maybe you can relate something interesting about your chiefs in the new ministry?

Guins: Who were my chiefs? Let me think it over. Well, my position as a chief counsel of the ministry had been equal to directors

Guins: of a special branch of the ministry. I should have been responsible as any other director to the Minister or his assistants. It seems strange for myself at present that I do not remember with whom of the Minister's deputies or assistants I had more close connections.

For the moment I remember only Peshekhonov as Minister and Bashkirov, a man who was a spirited mover of the business activity: purchases, prices, distribution, etc. As to Peshekhonov, whom I saw only once, he was an ordinary and unpretentious intellectual.

I knew him earlier only by name as a "narodnik", or people's socialist representative of a more moderate socialist group than the socialist-revolutionaries, who recognized terror as a method of political struggle. I remember also that Peshekhonov, in connection with the conversation about the situation on the front, suddenly told in my presence, "Will you know what I can predict?"

And without expecting an answer (I was not the only one with him), he added, "Russian troops will enter Berlin for the second time." It sounded like a paradox which nobody could take for the truth at that time. And, probably, this was the reason that I remember it.

But Russian troops, let them be "Red Army," really entered Berlin almost two hundred years after the first time in 1755. Among the other leading personages of the Ministry, Mr. Titov, who occupied one of the highest posts (I do not remember which one, was a very urbane and active man. He was one of the cooperators who had a good business experience.

I mean that he was one of the leaders of the cooperative movement which was growing by leaps and bounds in Russia both before and after the revolution. Cooperators were the most business-like people in our new ministry. Their participation, in addition to the administrative experience of the former staff of the Committee for Food Supply, secured the uninterrupted functioning of the very responsible institution under whose administration was army and city supply.

An active worker in the new ministry was Bashkirov. He was a well-to-do man, as I remember, a businessman of the Volga region. He was also one of those, as I remember, who left Petrograd in time and preferred to go to the U.S.A. instead of waiting for the time when the Russian army would "enter into Berlin."

Guins: If he is still alive, as I believe he is, he could give more interesting information about the activity of the Ministry as he was closer to the policy makers and organizational work. Titov, who was living after the revolution in Paris and who, I believe, is also alive, could explain how the local agencies of the Ministry of Supply were organized.

Before the revolution and the organization of the Ministry of Supply, there were either individual representatives in various regions of the empire or local zemstvos acting as responsible bodies. After the revolution the special collective agencies were organized.

Unfortunately I did not succeed to keep even one copy of the systematic "Collection of Laws and Decrees concerning Supply," which was prepared by my co-workers under my direct leadership. It was published in October, 1917, on the eve of the Bolshevik revolution.

The collection, which we prepared as a guiding book, lost its practical significance at the day of its "birth," the day of its publication. But it could be studied as a historical document. I hope it is available in the Public Library of Leningrad.

Titov, Bashkirov, and Gavrilov (a former high official of the Resettlement Department who headed the staff of the Committee for Supply and who became one of the highest officials of the new ministry), and Groman, a statistician socialist democrat who also played a leading part in the ministry, are the people whom I remember more than any else and whom I consider the most competent and active workers of the Ministry.

Travels as Chief Counsel of the New Ministry

Raymond: Did you visit some local agencies as you did earlier, when you were a legal counsel of the Committee?

Guins: Only once. I was in Odessa and used this occasion to visit Kishinev. In Odessa I visited several enterprises which had contracts with the Ministry. For the first time I could see a flour mill completely mechanized and automated. There was only one observer on each of the three floors of that flour mill.

In the case of a red signal, the observer had to stop and correct what was wrong. Grain was raised to the upper floor

Guins: by the aid of an air pump; it was mechanically distributed between the grinding machines, and afterwards descended to the second floor, where better kinds of flour were produced. On the first floor flour filled the sacks, which were moved to the storehouse or the tracks according to the indicated destination.

I visited also peeling mills in which manual work continued to reign. "Why not mechanize? I asked the owner.

"This kind of work requires more attention and more carefulness," he explained. Enterprises of a smaller size can fulfill such a work better than enterprise's giants. It could be a lesson for Marxists. I asked whether I could receive a certain quantity of various groats: pearl barley, buckwheat, oatmeal. There was a shortage of groats in Petrograd but not in Odessa. I could provide my relatives, at whose home I stayed in Odessa, and I filled a small basket for taking to Petrograd.

It was not difficult to reach Odessa and to return, having an official mission and reserved place in the express train. But it was not so easy to reach Kishinev from Odessa. There was only one train per day between these cities. Bessarabia was very close to the front line, and soldiers leaving the front or returning there attacked every train.

I was informed, however, that the provisional governor of Bessarabia, the former chairman of the Gubernskaia zemskaia uprava (the Bessarabian zemstvo), Mr. Mimi, was in Odessa and that he could pick me up. I called him by phone, and we agreed where and when we could meet.

In Mr. Mimi's car there was also a member of the Bessarabian Council of the Workers and Soldiers' Deputies, a representative of the "real power." Our host was a good driver and a very courteous man. Any sharp subjects were eliminated from the conversation and we were very friendly as we moved toward Kishinev.

Mr. Mimi, a rich landowner of Bessarabia, stopped in his estate where he treated us with an excellent red wine of his own production. He was so kind that he delivered me to the door of my grandfather and grandmother's house, where I passed my infancy and youth.

After two or three days of sojourn in Kishinev, I had to return to Odessa and leave from there for Petrograd. I experienced the unpleasantness of the journey from Kishinev to Odessa without certain privileges. My former fascination with

Guins: Tolstoy's ideas concerning plain living withered away since my first traveling with peasants in 1905, and a new experience of traveling with soldiers did not reeducate me in favor of the "oproschenie"* in conformity with Leo Tolstoy's exhortations.

Neither was it so comfortable to return to Petrograd. During one week some changes became noticeable. Every time when the train crossed a bridge, it was necessary to cover the window of the train compartment with its curtain, as it was earlier done at night or on a very sunny day. Several times the handbags had to be opened for inspection.

But what was the worst was the disputes in the compartment in which I had my reserved place. They took place between my fellow travelers. One of them was a young officer promoted probably after the revolution. His appearance, poor vocabulary in his argumentation, and arguments themselves, were obviously borrowed from Bolshevik propaganda.

He repeated Lenin's ideas that the war had been in the interest of the Western capitalist powers and that the most reasonable action would be to conclude peace with Germany. As regards the loans, they must not be paid to the Allies, he argued, because Russia had fought for them.

During the week when I had been absent from Petrograd, some fateful events took place. At the station of Mogilev, I became a witness of one of the consequences of those events, though very superficially only. I remember that when I was leaving Petrograd in the first half of September, my wife, who came to say good-bye to me attracted my attention to a lady in the car with the destination to Crimea. She received flowers from her friend and told him, "I am not worrying about you as long as Kerenskii is with you."

Several days later the so-called conspiracy against the provisional government was discovered and was liquidated. The news reached me in Odessa. General Kornilov, who was at that time the commander-in-chief of the armies, was supposed to be a pretender for dictatorship and had to be replaced by Kerenskii as a man not proper for reestablishing discipline and order. I did not know any details.

*plain living

Guins: Our train stopped at Mogilev. We were told that it would not move in time because a train of special destination had to arrive from Petrograd. We had time to walk on the platform. There were not a few soldiers staying disorderly on the platform or going here and there.

I left my car and was walking on the platform. Everything had been so ordinary that I even did not pay attention to the fact that I was at the station of the general headquarters. Ten, fifteen minutes passed, and the express train arrived from Petrograd.

Among the cars there was one decorated with the red flags. The train proved to be a special one, with the car which was earlier (as somebody later told me) the lounge of the dethroned Emperor. From that car emerged Kerenskii. I saw him personally for the first and, as it proved to be, the last time in my life. I never met him again.

One of the soldiers on the platform said in surprise, "Look, it is Kerenskii."

And the other standing close to me exclaimed, "Vot rozha nu i rozha!" ("What a mug face!")

Kerenskii's appearance did not impress me either, but I was extremely surprised by the lack of respect toward the Supreme Commander-in-Chief on the part of a private soldier.

Kerenskii crossed the platform with speed and left the station in a car which was waiting for him on the other side of the station. That car was also decorated with the red flags. I did not notice it earlier.

Kerenskii

Raymond: Professor Guins, what was your personal attitude toward Kerenskii?

Guins: In March to April, 1917, when he was only one of the several members of the provisional government, as the Minister of Justice, I had the impression--as did many others--that he was the right man in the right place. He was the only one among the members of the government who appeared here and there and tried to have a contact with various groups of the

Guins: population. I remember that I called him once a "people's tribune."

But it was not the same when he became the head of the government, and especially when he occupied the official residence and study room of the former Emperor in the Winter Palace, and still more when he became the Commander-in-Chief of the army.

His speeches did not inspire; they rather disappointed, because they were either deprived of definitiveness or his attitude toward the Bolsheviks was deprived of determination. After the armed conflict with Lenin's partisans in July, he did not evacuate the reservists from Petrograd and did not replace them with reliable forces. But his fatal fault was that he did not look for the support of the army because, according to my impression, he was afraid of generals.

But I do not wish to discuss seriously that problem. According to my opinion at present hardly anybody else could have done better, and it was not his fault that there was no other who could replace him.

The Mood in Petrograd

Raymond: What were the moods in Petrograd when you came back from Odessa?

Guins: It seems to me that people became more pessimistic. I heard that my teacher, Professor Petrazicki, was sick. He was appointed to the Senate as one of the best jurists in the country, and his friends informed me that Petrazicki refused to work, that he simply declined all offers to prepare his conclusions on various important cases, referring to his low spirits.

I visited him and asked whether he was satisfied with his new position and found some interest in his activity as a Senator. He simply told me that he was not interested at all in that activity because he did not believe that such a work under the new circumstances could have any practical significance. "We are approaching," he told me, "an inevitable catastrophe."

It seems to me that Petrazicki expressed the dominant moods. The only difference was that he, earlier than many

Guins: other people, reached the conclusion that the best that could be done at that time was to be ready for departure from the capital.

Academic Work

Raymond: Did you continue your academic work at that time?

Guins: In 1917, I published several articles on legal subjects in the Journal of the Ministry of Justice, and one in the Vestnik Grazhdanskogo Prava which was a part of my first lecture given at the opening of my course in 1916, and a number of reviews. I also contributed continuously to the N.E.S. by Brockhaus-Efron.

As to my course on the legislation regulating the supply, it did not attract students. The University, as I told you already, was practically empty. The young men were drafted, or served in various civil organizations connected with the war institutions and needs.

However, I was giving lectures on Roman law at the Psycho-neurological Institute. Under that name in Petrograd an institution of higher learning was established which, as I guess, was in fact a private university. My audience consisted of some ten to twelve students.

Several of them were so much better prepared for studying lectures on Roman law than I that I was being a student in the first course. It is possible that they enrolled for having student's papers. Anyhow, the existence of a law department in the Psycho-neurological Institute seemed to me enigmatic. But at that time I did not think about that.

I continued nevertheless to have close relations with the University professors. I forgot to say that after the February revolution all professors who were forced to leave the Petrograd University during Kasso's regime were restored to their former positions. Professors appointed by Kasso for the positions in the capital returned to the provincial universities. Among them, I must say, there were some very respectable people devoted to science and education.

I continued to support connections with one of them, Professor V. A. Udintsev, who after the revolution was

Guins: invited to the university newly founded in Baku. As to my connections with the professors, whom I knew from the time when I became a student, they were never discontinued.

Once Professor N. I. Lazarevskii, a comparatively young but already well-known specialist on the State law and author of a very good course on State law, invited me and two other privat-docents (formally he was also a privat-docent at Petrograd University) for discussing a program of propaganda of sound legal principles to oppose to the propaganda of the extremists.

He asked me in particular whether I could write a pamphlet in defense of private property. I told him that I could and would do it with pleasure, but that I had doubt in any success of such a pamphlet when the provisional government allowed Bolsheviks to occupy the houses which did not belong to the state and were not confiscated or nationalized, as, for example, the house of M. Kshesinky, from the balcony of which Lenin pronounced his inflammatory speeches.

I referred also to Lenin's speech when, indicating the houses and palaces on the left embankment of the Neva, he asked the crowd, "To whom do they belong?" And he answered himself, "To you!" With such a connivance from the side of the government, what kind of propaganda by means of pamphlets could be successful?

Our meeting remained without results. We did not do anything. By the way, Lazarevskii was executed together with the poet N. Gumilev in 1921.

Raymond: To which political party did Lazarevskii belong?

Guins: For my best knowledge, to the Constitutional Democratic Party.

The Constitutional Democratic Party

Raymond: Why didn't you join the Constitutional Democratic Party?

Guins: I did not suppose that it would help me to be more useful to my fatherland. As a privat-docent I had more prestige than if I would have been a politician. I should say that the officers of the pre-revolutionary government, especially those who occupied more or less high positions, remained after the revolution under suspicion. Members of the

Guins: socialist parties considered them bureaucrats.

Once I objected to N. Chaikovskii, an influential member of the moderate socialist party. He later became chairman of the Archangelsk government during its occupation by the British forces. Chaikovskii ignored my objection and replied to me that he was a social worker and I was a bureaucrat. I answered him that I was a privat-docent of the University and not a bureaucrat, and after my remark he changed his tone at once.

My wife began to work in a Constitutional Democratic Party organization, and she told me that she was very disappointed. Nobody understood, she told me, what effective work had been done at that time (it was in August or September of 1917) by the leftists in the factories among the workers and soldiers while the lady members of the Constitutional Democratic Party discussed the political problems in their living rooms.

The Constitutional Democratic Party was a target of furious attacks as a bourgeois party. Its leader, Miliukov, was forced to resign from the provisional government in April. Yet afterwards it became clear to me that if I could not be more useful as a member of the party, it was necessary to support one or another party during the potential elections.

The only party which I could choose was still the Constitutional Democratic Party. By the way, my former chief, Tkhorzhevskii, called me once by telephone and offered me the chance to join the Constitutional Monarchist Party, which, he told me, would be headed by Count P. N. Ignatiev, the former Minister of Education.

I was very surprised that Tkhorzhevskii agreed to join it and rejected decidedly his offer. Even the existence of such a party would from my point of view be hardly possible.

Elections to the Constituent Assembly

Raymond: How were the elections to the Constituent Assembly going?

Guins: The electoral campaign had been in full swing. I remember how the court-guard (dvornik) of the house in which I hired the apartment asked my advice for whom to vote--for the Mensheviks or the Bolsheviks. I told him that from my point of view of these two parties the Mensheviks should be more acceptable. But, as I understood it, he was seduced

Guins: by the word "bolshhevik," which he understood as the promise to give "bol'she" (more), while "menshevik" was "men'she" (less).

Raymond: Could you reckon on some possible changes for better or did you become a pessimist as Professor Petrazicki did?

Guins: There were two possibilities for improvement: the favorable change on the anti-German front and in the Constituent Assembly, in which moderate parties, I hoped, could win. The first chance did not depend on more from the Russian front; it was already almost destroyed or decomposed by the Bolshevik propaganda and the lack of authority of the provisional government.

I could take part in the elections of two kinds: first, in the elections to the municipality of Petrograd, and second, as all citizens in the election of the Constituent Assembly-- in the first case as a candidate and in the second as a voter. I was asked to be a candidate to the Duma of the Basil Island, a part of the capital in which I was living. I agreed, and was elected.

Raymond: Did you ever serve in that local municipal institution?

Guins: Never. There was not even a single meeting of such a Duma. I don't remember for what reasons, but I suppose that its composition was considered unsatisfactory from the point of view of the leftist political groups.

Once during the electoral campaign I gave a lecture on parliamentarianism according to the request of the Constitutional Democratic Party. The audience was not numerous. The subject of the lecture was not up to date and had no connection with the elections to the municipality. It was not my choice.

The most interesting was an unexpected finale to my lecture. When I left the premises in which the lectures were organized, a tramp approached me and told me, "You burzhui, how I wish to plunge your mug into mud!" Such was the situation.

Raymond: Did he attend your lecture?

Guins: He did not. But there was a poster on the door and he could know who I was and what I spoke about in my lecture. Under such conditions the first meeting of the Duma could be no more than a scandal. It was more reasonable to postpone the opening of the democratic institutions.

Economic Conditions in the Capital

Guins: In the meantime, it was becoming more and more difficult to get food for children: milk, meat, sugar, butter, and even bread. One after the other new cooperatives were organized which promised to supply one or another product to its members. It was necessary, of course, to become a member of a cooperative and to pay for that purpose membership dues, but it was in fact only a temporary improvement in providing a certain kind of food.

"Our" cooperative could not get more food, and then a new cooperative invited for membership. It became clear that it was a kind of speculation. Collecting membership dues it was possible to acquire food for a high price surpassing the prices fixed by the government, but it was possible once or twice, and then the cooperative enterprise ceased to exist and another appeared. People preferred, nevertheless, to pay membership dues than to remain without food.

Political conditions were worsening too. My wife, who continued to take part in the meetings of a group of the Constitutional Democratic Party, brought news about successful propaganda of Bolsheviks in the factories and about the rising revolutionary moods.

I had still a very superficial idea as regards Lenin and his party and could not imagine what could happen. To my surprise even the government did not foresee how dangerous the situation was. We were more anxious about the possibility of a German offensive in the direction of Petrograd than about the possibility of a new revolution.

I continued to prepare the "Collection of Laws and Decrees and Administrative Instructions and Regulations of the Ministry of Supply" and to teach in the Psycho-neurological Institute. And I began to collect materials for a Magister dissertation.

The October Revolution

Guins: Thus it proved to be quite unexpected when, in the evening of October 26, 1917, we heard the sounds of guns from the direction of the Neva River. The gunfire continued. It was, as we were informed the next day, the siege of the

Guins: Winter Palace by the battle cruiser Aurora which approached the palace and fired at it. Only a battalion of women volunteers and a group of the cadets of the military school defended the palace and the provisional government inside it.

The resistance was weak. On October 26, 1917, began a new era of the Russian history. For one week at least the normal life in the capital could not be restored. For several days soldiers looted the wine stores in the Winter Palace and not only drank wine directly from the bottles, but also sold bottles of the expensive wine for next to nothing.

There were some incidents much more disagreeable. Once I was walking along the Nevskii Prospect, the central street in the capital, and suddenly rifle shots resounded. Pedestrians pressed themselves to the walls or ran to gateways or, like me, found the next front door with several steps inside the entrance.

Stray bullets could kill anybody quite accidentally, like it happened to Veletsky, the former chief of the Administration of Resettlement in Semirechie. He returned to his native city from Vernyi and looked out of the window just at the moment when an unknown person shot him from his rifle quite accidentally.

However, approximately in one week the Soviet regime became more or less stabilized throughout the whole country, at least from the point of view of relative security and order. During the nights all inhabitants of the apartment house in which I was living voluntarily watched in the courtyard, replacing each other according to the list agreed to by mutual consent. It was just the same in other houses. This precautionary measure was acknowledged soon to be superfluous.

Some enemies proved to be unexpectedly inside the house. Among them was our doorman, who had been very friendly before the revolution. It was an old man. He replaced his son-in-law, who was conscripted as a soldier during the war. His daughter and grandson lived with him.

My wife invited the small boy to play with ours. At Christmas he received presents from our Christmas tree. Everything that we could do for the family we did, and our relations were more than satisfactory.

But after the revolution the old man began to manifest unfriendliness, and after the October Revolution he became embittered like a real class enemy. Propaganda of Bolsheviks on a par with the worsening of the conditions of life inspired people with malicious emotions.

Guins: I was still more amazed when, during the general meeting of all employees of the Ministry of Supply, whose participants discussed the problem of whether to join or not a supposed general strike as a form of protest against the Bolshevik Revolution, a court lackey of the Anichkov Palace joined the choir of Bolsheviks and cried, "You damned people! You served under the Tsar and do not want to work for the people." His brutalized face, disheveled beard and menacing expression witnessed his complete psychological transformation.

In the middle of November my wife with the children and her sister, who was living the last few years with us, left Petrograd for Omsk. I remained still with the idea that the Constituent Assembly might change the situation. There were no changes in the Ministry. The Soviet of People's Commissars was occupied with problems of national importance.

We continued to come to the office, and the paper work was not discontinued for approximately one month. In the meantime many shops suspended their operations because of the impossibility of getting supply.

Once passing by a popular confectionary I noticed that there were more people than there usually were at that time. I entered and was informed that every customer could buy a pound of cacao. Certainly I bought it and decided to keep it for a worse future. Such were becoming the conditions in the capital.

But we continued officially to keep our positions in the government institutions. It could not continue for a long time. Once, during my absence in the office, an agent of the new Soviet government arrived and, as was told me later by my co-workers, interrogated all of them about who would continue to work with the new government. Only one of my four assistants answered positively.

Some days later, when all were in their places, we were informed that all entrances of the Anichkov Palace were closed and in order to leave it everybody had to present a permission from the personnel office.

At that time Mikhailov, the same person who criticized the project of the reorganization of the Committee of Supply and who occupied one of the highest posts in the Ministry entered my study room and asked me what we could do. I answered him that I wanted to know what kind of permission was given to those who wanted to leave the palace.

Guins: For that purpose I asked one of our girl clerks to descend (our office was on the second floor) for scouting. She returned and informed us that it was a simple piece of paper with the seal of the Ministry. Then our girls prepared a number of papers of the same form and put on the seal which we had, but turned it in such a manner that it was not possible to read what department of the Ministry it was.

We took the pieces of paper, and the soldiers let us go out. I remember how Mikhailov was happily whistling when he felt himself free out on the Nevskii Prospect.

Raymond: When did that occur?

Guins: In December. At least it took place after the departure of my family to Omsk. Since that time the office of the Ministry of Supply could be visited only by those of the employees who had registered as loyal to the Soviet government.

However, there was still a general meeting permitted for the discussion of the proposed general strike, and the vote proved to be in favor of the strike. It was necessary to decide what to do afterwards.

My first step was to get two certifications from the University: one of my title of privat-docent and the right to teach in the University, and the other one as a substitute to the old passport, in which my title, rank, and position in the Ministry were indicated. For the new regime such a document was not a proper one.

Both the pre-revolutionary document and its substitute I succeeded in maintaining up to the present time. It was not prudent at all to keep the pre-revolutionary document under the conditions when everybody could be subjected to arrest and search. But we all were still more or less naive.

The only expectation on which some people continued to base their hopes and plans was the Constituent Assembly. The majority of the Assembly, in conformity with expectations, consisted of the members of the Socialist Revolutionary Party as the party which represented the interests of the peasants composing the largest group of the population. The elections justified these expectations.

The elected members began to arrive to Petrograd, and various committees were organized for preparation of the party's declarations and bills. A member of the Assembly,

Guins: Kondratiev, one of the young economists with a good reputation who was also a member of the Socialist Revolutionary Party, invited several specialists to visit him, among whom was I as a legal counsel of the Ministry of Supply and privat-docent of the University.

Kondratiev offered us several problems for discussion of their possible practical solutions. During the meeting of the committee it became clear that even such an educated man as Kondratiev undoubtedly had no idea about the forthcoming work of the Assembly under the conditions of the Soviet regime.

I remember that after my return I wrote to my wife that the prospects of the Constituent Assembly seemed to me hopeless and that I would leave Petrograd and join my family.

Departure from Petrograd

There were trains of different types. The timetable continued to exist. At the stations there were porters. But nothing was observed in accordance with the former regulations. My sister came with me to say farewell to me. The train was to leave the station approximately at nine p.m., but it left after midnight, and I convinced my sister to leave the station much earlier.

The porters refused to take my not very diverse luggage--two suitcases--but it was not so easy for me to carry both. They were sufficiently heavy. I did not know how far the train would go. A porter to whom I addressed replied that I could send my luggage by baggage car, which I wished to avoid, not being sure that everything would arrive safely.

The porter in turn did not wish to become responsible, as uncertainty was usual up to the moment of the departure of the train. He knew better than me how indefinite and conditional the time tables had become.

Raymond: What did you take with you?

Guins: Oh, my wife was very disappointed when I arrived and opened my suitcases. I took the most necessary belongings but not the best, from her point of view. I took some valuable materials necessary for giving lectures, as, for example, my program of the courses of Civil and Commercial law prepared for the examination for professorship, some books, and, to

Guins: her surprise, many toys for my two boys instead of valuable things. The most valuable things were left. I was sure that I would return to Petrograd and I left there even some necessary things.

Raymond: When did your train depart, and how did the trip go after departure?

Guins: The train left the station after midnight. It was necessary to wait for the moment of departure for four or five hours in the station. I had occupied my place to sleep, but I noticed that the train stopped soon. This didn't surprise me, because it was more or less natural that after leaving the main station it could stop somewhere farther.

But when I awoke next morning, it proved to be only some miles from the Petrograd station. It had stopped because it could not go any farther, for what reasons I did not know. This situation disappointed me because I could not be sure that we would reach the place where I wanted to go at all.

But, as I was informed later, the engineer of the train was informed that at the next station there were many soldiers who attacked trains, using any possible means to move in the direction they wanted to follow. Being informed about this large group of soldiers, he preferred not to go until the station was freed of these soldiers.

There had been occasions when trains which after arriving at such a station had not opened the doors of coaches to soldiers were attacked in such a way that all window glass was broken. For this reason the train was moved slower. The engineers always waited for information.

But the farther we moved, the better it became. Approaching the Urals, we found more food offered by peasant girls on the station platforms: eggs, milk, and sometimes even meat products. I therefore expected that the farther we would move into Siberia the better the living conditions would be. Siberia continued to be different from European Russia at that time and seemed to be a new "Promised Land."

Since the train schedules were always off at that time, I arrived in Omsk close to midnight instead of in the morning. There was a choice--either to pass the night in the station hall, which was full of people who expected cheap trains, or to take a carriage and awake my wife in the night.

Guins: The prospect of passing the night among people who smoked the worst kind of tobacco and not sleeping at all in order not to lose the luggage (for who would guard it?) stimulated my decision to leave the station and go to the address of my wife. I did not suppose that the station would be several miles from the city, as it really was.

I hired a cab. Having left the station, we were crossing a deserted region where there were neither houses nor any living persons. We crossed it safely. The house where my wife found two rooms was in turn far from the center of the city. Yet we arrived safely.

I put my luggage on the steps of the stairs and knocked at the door. Nobody appeared. The house was located on the border of the city. There were no other houses either on the right or on the left side. I found the door bell and heard some steps. A man's voice asked who was ringing. I called my name.

The door was opened. My wife told me that in the darkness she took my suitcases for soldiers sitting on the stairs and invited the houseowner to come supposing that it would be a search of the house as there were two officers in the house. When I entered the house it was later than one o'clock a.m.

I was told that it was a risky business to cross the distance between the station and the place where my wife was living so late in the night. Anyhow, I arrived safely.

Contrary to my plans and expectations, I never returned from Omsk to Petrograd, and also I never saw again my sister. She survived several months in Petrograd, suffering from the lack of food products. She reached Kishinev after difficult travel by train without any comforts. But after all these experiences she lost her health and died from tuberculosis.

Life in Omsk

Raymond: How big was Omsk then?

Guins: It was sufficiently big. It was predominately a one-story house city; there were very few houses with two stories--mostly only officials' houses. There were a few new stone houses with several flats, like that in which I lived later.

Guins: The problem after my arrival was how we would live. It was not sufficient to have rooms; it was also necessary to pay for them and to secure the living of the whole family. But Siberia was a favorable country not only from the point of view of feeding but also because it needed intellectuals. And it proved to be not so difficult to find employment.

I was recommended by my friends living in Omsk, former students of St. Petersburg University who had lived in Petrograd and whom I had met there. Some of them were connected with the Ministry of Agriculture, knew me in Petrograd, and advised my wife and me to go to Siberia. It was their advice which saved my family and myself from starving in Petrograd, as would have been the case if I had stayed there.

Work in the Central Siberian Cooperative Organization

After my arrival in Omsk, they recommended me to one of the large cooperative organizations, the Centro-Sibir' (Central Siberian Cooperative Organization). I must say that even before the revolution there were already in Siberia some cooperative organizations on a very large scale.

For example, the Soiuz Maslodel'nykh Arteley (the Union of Dairy Cooperatives), which exported butter to England before the revolution for thirty to fifty million rubles per annum and imported agricultural machines from England to Siberia and sold them to the Siberian peasants.

Besides the earlier existing cooperatives, some new ones were organized after the February Revolution. On March 20, 1917, a new law on cooperatives was published by the provisional government. The project of that law was ready, as I suppose, before the revolution.

It was very well worked out and was very favorable for the development of the cooperative movement. The provisional government hastened to issue that law and enforce it. It is probable that a number of laws issued by the provisional government in March to May, 1917, were prepared at the State Duma and only awaited their turn in the lengthy manner of the legislative procedure.

In particular, due to the enforcing of the new law on cooperatives, many new cooperative organizations of all kinds--consumptive, credit, and producing--were organized in European Russia and in Siberia.

Guins:

The cooperative organization which invited me to become a member of its board united a number of small consumptive cooperatives which existed in various parts of the western Siberia and the steppe regions. After one week, during which I studied the materials characterizing the purposes and principles of the organization and the system of the coordination of activity of the local cooperatives, I understood how successful that organization should be in a country where private trade was still not developed and where, due to the lack of competition among the private merchants, it would be easy to exploit the inhabitants of the remote parts of the vast areas.

I had before only a very superficial idea about the cooperative movement in Russia. I read in Tugan-Baranovskii's book about Robert Owen and his principles, on the basis of which cooperation began to develop in Great Britain, and that was all.

I was surprised to know how many cooperatives existed in Asiatic Russia and how successfully they were developing. In the meantime, studying economics at the University, I did not pay much attention to that phenomenon of production and trade based on the principles of mutual profit. The higher education, at least in St. Petersburg, was mostly theoretical.

As I was informed later, the teaching of economics at the Moscow University had been more practical. One of the professors recommended, for example, to his students to prepare a survey on the city transportation to determine what lines could be the most profitable for the city and most convenient for the population. Another subject was the condition of dairy production in the Moscow suburb regions, etc.

In general, we did not know anything about cooperation but what we could get being members of cooperatives during World War I in St. Petersburg. But it was indicative that the Guard, an aristocratic part of Russian military forces, organized their own large cooperative in the center of St. Petersburg. Their cooperative served the whole population. Dispensing large amounts of capital it developed very successfully.

For a man with a certain theoretical education it did not take more than one week of reading to understand the principles of organization of cooperatives and their unions. But when there was a meeting of the peasants--the members of the consumers' cooperatives in the region--in which the organizers of 'Centro-Sibir' explained the conditions of economy of the war time and the fluctuation of prices, the

Guins: chairman of the board asked me to talk to the peasants.

"They are free now," he told me, "and since this is a closed meeting, they are waiting for some speakers."

I was confused. I did not know how and what to say. I refused on the grounds that I could not find a subject for a speech to the peasants. It was a quite new audience for me as compared to the people of St. Petersburg, and I felt that I had no contact with the people for whom we were working and I sometimes simply did not know how to approach them.

I refused to speak. Later when I'll talk about Kolchak I will remind you of this occasion, because I had a chance to see how Admiral Kolchak could not find what to say to his soldiers.

Academic Work at the new Polytechnic Institute

I found in Omsk also another job. Soon after my arrival at Omsk I was informed that the new institution of higher learning would be opening there, the Polytechnic Institute, and that there would be an Economics Department, in whose program Civil and Commercial Law would be included as a part of the law closely connected with economic activity.

I was the specialist in these subjects, and therefore I offered my candidacy. The director of this institute asked me who of my professors at Petrograd could recommend me, and I gave him the name of Professor M. J. Pergament, who had suggested that I continue my studies for professorship.

He was one of those who were forced to leave the University at the time of Minister Kasso but who returned to his former position at Petrograd University after the revolution.

The director of the Institute told me later that he received a very good letter of recommendation from M. J. Pergament. Professor Pergament wrote me also that he was very glad to recommend me. In such a manner I was soon invited to be a professor at the Polytechnic Institute.

During a very short time I found myself with two jobs nad even the best ones to be had. I therefore declined the offer to teach at the Perm University and kept the one in Omsk, which was in fact the same job but under much better conditions.

Guins: But since I was invited to start my course only in fall session, I was asked to open my academic activity by giving a public lecture to introduce myself to the future students and to the community which supported the Polytechnic Institute.

I chose a subject which at that time had to be up to date: "Two systems of economy -- Two systems of law." Being the legal counsel of the Ministry of Supply and being the editor of the voluminous collection of the laws and regulations of the period of war which was unfortunately published after the October Revolution, I possessed variegated material and experience for my proposed lecture.

I noticed that if a government begins to regulate one section of the national economy it will not stop from further regulating all other sections. We started in Petrograd from regulation of the distribution and prices of sugar, and afterwards we began to regulate the transportation, the prices of other kinds of food, and so forth. And we ended with the ration card system for the distribution of food to all consumers.

I characterized this legal system as a "centralized economy." I predicted that if we began to regulate in Siberia we inevitably would have the same system which would concentrate the domination of the national economy in one center.

I explained what is the system of the decentralized economy based on civil law and commercial law. The main idea of this system is that the people, having property rights and stimulated by the competition on the basis of freedom of contracts, are stimulated to produce what would be more advantageous.

At the same time I explained in my lecture why centralized economy becomes indispensable sometimes (for example, during the Great War), but how it spreads throughout the whole national economy and acquires defects of the bureaucratic system, depriving people of the initiative.

I explained that limitations of the right of property inevitably leads to the limitation of the freedom of contracts. If one starts regulating contracts, one has to limit or abolish the system of heritage, etc.

My lecture was a great success. I was congratulated by my comrades of the Polytechnic Institute, and I was really very happy to have a chance to start teaching in this

Guins: institute in the fall.

Raymond: This is now the fall of 1918?

Guins: Yes.

Raymond: What was the political situation during this period in Omsk?

The Political Situation in Omsk, 1918 -- Conspiracy

Guins: I was just coming to that. Once, in May, I was offered by the board the chance to go to another city, Atbassar, much farther to the south. The reason for such kind of an assignment was that there were differences among the members of the cooperatives and it was necessary to settle various kinds of disagreements.

I left Omsk by railway for the station of Petropavlovsk, from which it was the shortest way to go to Atbassar by cart or carriage. The distance was 300 to 400 miles, if not more. At the station of Petropavlovsk I wanted to get some information--where I might find a carriage, where I would have to stop first, etc.--and I noticed that there was an officer walking on the platform.

I approached him and began to talk to him. He answered me with some restraint. Among other things I asked him whether he knew anything about the movement of the train carrying the Tsar's family, which was moving at that time from Tobolsk to Ekaterinburg. "Yes, they passed," he said.

I asked him whether he saw anybody of the Tsar's family looking out the window. He told me that they were probably prohibited from looking out the windows so he could not see anybody. As I noted, he answered me with some kind of restraint. Perhaps he had some kind of suspicion, so I did not continue.

Later I was informed that the Tsar's family did not pass through Petropavlovsk at all. They had been transported via Tiumen, a more short itinerary, by boat.

Guins: I found a cart according to the instructions given to me, and I left the station, where I could find horses and carriages, and went to my destination. But there was rain at that time. The road was in very bad condition. I was not prepared for such a trip from the point of view of my equipment.

I was not warned about these complications which might be expected for this time of the year. I decided to turn back. I had experienced these kinds of conditions earlier on my trip to Turkestan in 1909, and I decided that it would be better to turn back and prepare myself better for this kind of travel.

The members of the board of Centro-Sibir' were very surprised when I returned, because I had a definite assignment which I did not fulfill in returning. I was a little confused but explained to them what kind of experience I had before and that I had not been warned about how to equip myself for the possible changes of the weather.

In fact, this accident proved to be one of the happy occasions of my life. One week after that, when I still was not prepared to go again, there was the overthrow of the Bolshevik regime in Omsk and in some other places too.

Raymond: During this whole period while you were in Omsk, the city was given suggestions by Moscow?

Guins: Not during the whole time, but the transportation of the Tsar's family was connected with some premonitions of possible troubles in Siberia. I have to add that the regime of the Bolsheviks in Siberia, as I explained in my book Siberia, Allies, and Kolchak, had been more or less independent.

The Siberian Communists pretended that they understood local conditions better than Moscow. They were a sort of "local tsars."

I should say that my family moved already from the house in which I had found my wife on my arrival in Omsk to another house closer to the center of the city and closer to my place of work at Centro-Sibir' and to the place where the future Polytechnic Institute was located.

It was a two-story house and there were four apartments, two on the upper and two on the lower floors. In one of the upper apartments lived Vologodskii, the future chairman of the Siberian government, whom I had met as an editor of a

Guins: local paper for which I wrote an article under the title, "Who are these Possessed?" after Dostoyevsky's The Possessed.

I related in my article the main idea of the novel and quoted some excerpts from the novel in such a form that everybody could understand that the "possessed" were the Communists. At that time it was not foreseeable how dangerous it would be for both the editor and the author of such a kind of article. We could not foresee what the system of Communist terror would be.

Anyhow, my article was not signed by my name, and the editor promised to say that he received the article by mail from an unknown author. It was written under a pseudonym.

Raymond: Was there Communist terror in this period in Omsk?

Guins: Certainly. But they did not pay attention to this article. Vologodskii invited me to contribute further to this paper. He was also an anti-Communist, and the paper represented still the progressive intellectuals, not the socialists.

He also told me by the way that there was a good apartment in the house in which he was living. We decided with my wife to move to this apartment instead of renting only two rooms so far from the center.

One day, very early in the morning, my wife and I heard some kind of noise in front of the house. When I looked out of the window, I saw officers and some soldiers. So I raced upstairs to the second floor and asked Vologodskii what happened.

He informed me that the officer who was below told him that during the night some Communists were arrested in Omsk. The others fled. Now Omsk was free and a new anti-Communist government would be organized.

Raymond: You had no suspicion that they were preparing the overthrow?

Guins: No. I did not know anything at all. Later, perhaps during the same day, we were informed that there were officers' organizations. I understood then that the officer I saw walking on the station platform at Petropavlovsk was a member of one of these organizations, and that he was waiting for trains because some passengers, members of the organization, were spreading instructions for the officers' organizations. He was receiving those instructions.

Guins: Later I also understood that the Tsar's family was the victim of the existing conspiracy, because undoubtedly the Bolsheviks were informed about the existence of conspiratorial organizations. They could not have been ignorant because during the preceding period, in April for example, there were several night attacks on the arsenals at Omsk from which armaments were stolen and could be distributed.

The Communist organization was still weak and could not prevent such attacks. I remember also a symptomatic invitation from one of the local intellectuals who joined the Communists and invited the members of the board of 'Centro-Sibir', among whom I was, and offered them the opportunity to cooperate with the Communist administration.

He told us that even though we all were typical intellectuals devoted to liberal ideas and perhaps not interested in the Communist program, they were in power at the present time and if we would all cooperate it would be much better for everybody.

We could, for example, stop some sorts of inexpedient or radical measures. I told him that it looked like an invitation to join a conspiracy. I told him that smiling in the form of a joke. But later I told him seriously that I believed that all the members of the cooperative organization would agree with me that we were already working for the people, since cooperative organizations were very useful for the country and its population.

Also, I told him that the cooperative corporation needed hard work and there was no reason to leave it. Anyway, we declined his offer very politely.

But all this indicated that the Communists were not absolutely sure of themselves. And last but not least, there was at that time another circumstance of great importance. That was the movement of the armed Czech legions via Siberia from European Russia to Vladivostok.

Raymond: Excuse me, Professor Guins, for interrupting you, but you said that the Tsar's family was probably a victim of the existing conspiracy. You did not elaborate on this point. Will you please do so?

Guins: Well, I wanted to say that being informed about anti-Communist conspiracies in Siberia and being afraid that the Tsar's family might be freed by Russian anti-Communist organizations, restored to the throne, and maybe attract support from foreign countries, they could have decided to move the Tsar's family

Guins: to Ekaterinburg. But all this is certainly retrospective interpretation. I did not have this idea earlier.

But this was connected not only with the conspiracy of the officers but also with the movement of the Czech legions. You know the story.

The Czechs and the Poles were armed during the war in order to support the anti-German front. But after the revolution the Czechs decided to move to Vladivostok to support their compatriots in Western Europe. France was therefore interested in the successful evacuation of the Czechs from Siberia.

The Czechs were armed. The Communists wanted to disarm them, but they did not succeed. There were 40,000 Czechs, and they agreed with the Communists not to support anti-Communist forces and only to move to Vladivostok and leave Russia.

But the officers' organizations in Siberia were connected with the Czechs, and the movements of the Czechs were accompanied step by step by the overthrow of the Communist regimes in every city through which the Czechs were moving at that time.

So when they reached Omsk, the regime there was overthrown the same day. Thus in two to three weeks, Siberia was in the hands of the anti-Communist forces.

The New Anti-Communist Government

Raymond: What government was established?

Guins: After the events in Omsk, a gentleman who later became my friend, Butov, and whom I met for the first time in Omsk, came to me and told me that he belonged to the organization of the conspiratory Siberian government. He explained to me that after the February Revolution the Siberian intellectuals, or the Oblastniki (the Regionalists), dreamed about the establishment of a decentralized administration in Siberia.

I will not talk too much about the Siberian government because everything was described in detail in my book, Siberia, Allies, and Kolchak. When I was writing that book I remembered everything more exactly.

Guins: Butov informed me that when the Communists began to persecute the Regionalists, they organized two groups--one for Western Siberia, and the other one for the Far East. The first group had its center in Omsk, and the other one in Vladivostok.

The Omsk group was expected in Omsk, where it would organize the government. Butov and later some other people close to the "Oblastniki" tried to convince me to cooperate with them, that it was my duty as a man with administrative experience who could assist the prospective government in its legislative and administrative functions.

In the meantime, as I told you, I was very satisfied with the two jobs I had, especially having in view the chance to teach my field, Civil and Commercial law. Nevertheless I reluctantly agreed to cooperate. I began to take part in the organization of the Siberian government and in its legislative work.

The collection of the then published laws is at present at the Hoover Institute at Stanford University, which acquired my archives of this time.

Raymond: What official capacity were you in?

Guins: I was the Chief of the Chancellery of the government and a member of the so-called Administrative Council, meaning that the members of the Siberian government elected by the Oblastnaia Duma represented a sovereign power collectively. And the Administrative Council represented the Council of Ministers.

Later on the Administrative Council was renamed the Council of Ministers of the Siberian government. So I was a member of the government and my special field was legislation, administrative work, and so forth. The story of this work is set forth in my above-mentioned book.

In August I decided to go with my family to a village on the bank of the river Irtysh. There I felt how difficult it was for me to live with the Siberian peasants with whom I had no contact and who had their own customs and another way of life than the peasants in European Russia.

So I was very happy when, unexpectedly for us, a car arrived from Omsk with a letter from Vologodskii asking me to return quickly to Omsk. We were happy to return.

Formation of a United Siberian Government

Guins: Vologodskii invited me to accompany him on a very important mission--to go to Vladivostok to try to organize a united Siberian government for the whole of Asiatic Russia. First of all, we had to arrange with the eastern group of the Siberian government, which was waiting for us in Vladivostok, and later with the newly formed government there of General Horvath.

Again I will not relate much about this because those interested in details can read the whole story of our negotiations in my book, which tells it better and with more details than I can now.

The mission was successful. We were not only recognized as the western group of the Siberian government, but also as the only government which should represent Siberia. We also had occasion to meet various diplomats of foreign countries and to establish some contacts with representatives of France, Great Britain, and Japan, who later all arrived in Omsk.

The Ufa Agreement -- Formation of the Direktoria

However, during the period of our absence from Omsk, another government with a no less important assignment arose in the city of Ufa. When we were in Vladivostok, in Ufa there was at the same time a conference of various local governments which had begun to exist--one in Samara, the other in Ekaterinburg.

The first was organized by the group of the members of the Constituent Assembly who, after the dissolution of the Constituent Assembly by the Communists, left Petrograd for the country. Some of them succeeded in gathering a small number in Samara and in organizing there the committee of the members of the Constituent Assembly as a local government.

The other government was organized in Ekaterinburg. The Communists fled from there, probably having assassinated the whole of the Tsar's family. The local Urals government was then organized. It became necessary to reach an agreement in Ufa about the unification of all these local governments, including the Omsk government.

Raymond: You were not there though; you were in Vladivostok.

Guins: Yes, I was in Vladivostok. When we arrived in Omsk, the agreement was already concluded, and Vologodskii's group had to be dissolved according to the agreement reached in Ufa during his absence in order for Vologodskii personally to enter into the new government.

Vologodskii became one of the members of the Direktoria, which consisted of five people. Two of them--Avksentiev and Zenzinov--were members of the Socialist Revolutionary Party. I. I. Serebrennikov, a respected Siberian citizen, was a moderate Socialist. Vologodskii was closer to the Constitutional Democratic Party, and General Boldgrev was not a party man.

Vologodskii was elected without his own consent, and it was not known whether he would agree to remain in the Direktoria. No wonder that when we arrived Avksentiev as the chairman of the Direktoria began at once to look for a chance to see Vologodskii.

But he could not find him. Vologodskii became not available. Avksentiev sent somebody to him, but he was not at home. Neither was it possible to reach him by telephone, and his wife also did not know where he might be. The same story was with me. I left, and nobody knew where I was.

Actually the matter was very simple. After this long trip, Vologodskii and I decided to go to the steam bath, in conformity with the Russian custom, and we did not find it necessary to tell where we were going.

In the meantime Avksentiev was sure that Vologodskii and Guins had some kind of conspiratorial meeting to decide whether to cooperate or not with the Direktoria.

It was in fact a momentous problem. If Vologodskii had declined to participate, it would have been very difficult, if possible at all, to replace him. The Socialist Revolutionary Party wanted to secure its majority in the Direktoria, and they agreed to get Vologodskii as a man who was closer to them, as they imagined, than anybody else among the potential and available candidates, especially a candidate recommended by the non-socialist military group.

For that reason Vologodskii's absence was suspected to be a conspiracy. In fact there was no conspiracy at all from the side of Vologodskii. He agreed to become a member of the

Guins: Direktoria without any reservations. The Direktoria started to work, but not for a long time.

Raymond: What was your position with the Directory? Did you do anything with that government?

Guins: I tried to decline again any position with the new government, but, as before, I conceded when Avksentiev, the chairman of the Directory, offered me a position which would not require too much time from me.

I agreed to be a Deputy Minister of Education. An outstanding professor of the Omsk University, Sapozhnikov, agreed to be Minister of Education, but he accepted that post on the condition only that his office would be in Omsk. I had to replace him at the meetings of the Council of Ministers.

It was the fall season. I started to give lectures at the Polytechnic Institute, and I was not overloaded with government work. But my impression about the Directory was not favorable.

The Directory decided to unite the Omsk society and to popularize the Directory. For that purpose a banquet was organized. But it was a very unsuccessful undertaking, because the members of the Directory did not prepare themselves to speak at a banquet.

In the meantime they invited the diplomats of France and Great Britain. The guests could certainly expect some political speeches. Instantly a member of the Directory, General Boldgrev, arose and offered a toast for the "sweet women." I was very confused.

Somebody asked me to say something, but what to say? I had the impression that it was not a banquet, but a supper after a happy marriage. I decided to use that topic for emphasizing the idea of the close union between Siberia and European Russia and the consolidation of anti-Communist forces.

And I started to say that, of course expressing the pleasure to see at the banquet the newlyweds representing two large areas free from Communism--a large part of European Russia and Siberia. I expressed the hope that the wedding would be happy and successful. It was the only "political speech" on this occasion which more or less corresponded to the atmosphere.

But even though the Directory was existent and working, I had the impression that there was not a solid government structure.

The Direktoria Arrested

Guins: There was in fact two conspiracies about which I did not know at that time. It happened again that both Vologodskii and I, in the same house, were quite unexpectedly awakened one night and informed that the members of the Directory were arrested and that Vologodskii was invited to organize a new government.

Vologodskii sent his servant and asked me to be ready to go with him to an extraordinary session of the Council of Ministers. Going there we did not know exactly what happened or how it happened. All members of the Council of Ministers took part including Admiral Kolchak, who became in the meantime the Minister of War.

Kolchak was living for a certain time in Harbin. He visited Vologodskii there during his sojourn there but left the Far East for the Persian Gulf, because he had an assignment from Great Britain as commander of the fleet in this region.

He accepted this offer and was on the way to the Persian Gulf, but he received a wire from Peking that according to the instructions of the British government he had to return to the Far East. He then arrived at Omsk and was invited to become Minister of War with the Direktoria.

He naturally attended the meeting of the Council of Ministers. The problem discussed at the meeting was how to organize a new government.

Raymond: Who arrested the Direktoria?

Guins: The Cossacks of Siberia.

Raymond: But you did not know anything about that beforehand?

Guins: No, I did not. Neither did Vologodskii.

Raymond: Why did they arrest them?

Guins: There were some rumors that some influential people in Omsk were dissatisfied with the Direktoria and contemplated various plans of possible reorganization. One of the ministers, Mikhailov, visited me once and asked me whether I heard about such plans.

Guins: I told him that I had heard but that I could not imagine what the plans could be. Then he asked me, "What about Kolchak?" I told him that I did not know whether he would be able or not for such a mission. After this conversation I did not hear anything more about the existing conspiracy.

Raymond: Why did they not arrest Vologodskii?

Guins: Simply because he was already known as a man of moderate convictions. It was known that he was not a Socialist although for a while he had been close to them, and that he sympathized with more moderate political groups.

Kolchak Elected Supreme Ruler

Guins: At the meeting of the ministers it was decided that the experience of the past several months should convince people that the power must be concentrated in one person, because any kind of collective government would not be stable.

It was decided finally that Kolchak was the only person who had sufficient authority with the military groups, the Cossacks, and the foreign countries. Therefore he was elected as the supreme ruler.

He accepted the offered post, asked all ministers to remain, and asked Vologodskii to be the chairman of the Council of Ministers. Vologodskii declined this offer and expressed his wish to resign, but all the ministers insisted and he, just like I earlier, did not succeed in resigning. It proved to be a burdensome and dangerous enterprise for us both.

Raymond: You remained in your position?

Guins: Yes, I remained Deputy Minister of Education and his representative in the Council of Ministers.

Raymond: One more question, Professor Guins. What happened to those members of the Direktoria who were arrested?

Guins: Kolchak offered them the chance to leave Siberia after ordering them freed, and he gave them sufficient amounts of

Guins: money for traveling abroad. Therefore, both Avksentiev and Zenzinov left. Boldyrev declined the offer to remain in service and left for Vladivostok.

As I said already, my position as a Deputy Minister of Education was not very responsible, and I could continue my professorship at the institute, but certainly I attended the meetings of the Council of Ministers. People sometimes invited me for consultations for various kinds of problems outside of the meetings. In general at that time I was not overloaded.

Raymond: Were there any changes after Admiral Kolchak accepted the position of Supreme Ruler?

Guins: Yes. There were some significant changes. Vologodskii remained the chairman of the Council of Ministers, but he had to report to the Admiral. In the meantime, representatives of the foreign governments arrived to Omsk. Temporarily Vologodskii accepted additionally the position of Minister of Foreign Affairs.

Then he asked me and a young man, Mr. Sukin, who was earlier in the diplomatic service of the imperial government, to be his assistants. The Admiral had met Sukin in the United States and recommended him. Sukin and I occupied together the study room in the former house of the governor of the Akmolisk region.

Kolchak decided in the meantime to ask the former Minister of Foreign Affairs, S. D. Sazonov, who was at that time in Paris to represent there the Siberian government, to decide whom he preferred to have as his assistant in Omsk.

Simultaneously, or maybe earlier, a wire was dispatched according to my suggestion to the Russian ambassador, V. A. Maklakov, to convince some experienced Russian statesmen living in Western Europe to come to Omsk and to occupy responsible administrative positions in order to assist the Supreme Ruler and his government in fulfilling their complicated functions.

In that wire were emphasized the exclusive conditions in the remote part of the Russian empire, where there were not sufficient numbers of experienced people, if any at all.

I asked Krupenskii to assign somebody from his staff to Vladivostok to help Vologodskii. Krupenskii assigned his counsellor Abrikasov. But he arrived and left the next day. He was disappointed and so reported to the ambassador.

Influence of the Allied Governments

Raymond: Did you have, Professor Guins, any contact with the foreign diplomats?

Guins: My first contact took place in Vladivostok when I was there with Vologodskii. Four foreign governments had their representatives there at that time: France, Great Britain, Japan, and the United States.

These four nations were allies during World War I and were interested in the anti-Communist movement in Russia. The entrance of the United States into World War I at the beginning of 1918 raised the hope for a happy end for the Western world. Yet there was still an unstable balance of the forces.

For securing the victory of the West, it was necessary to be sure that the conditions on the eastern Russian front would be more or less stabilized even if an active Russian participation in the operations of the war were impossible.

It was not too late for Germany to shift her troops from the eastern to the western front and strengthen her positions in the west. Therefore the representatives of the Western governments were significantly interested in the restoration of Russian pro-allied forces or at least pro-allied feelings.

What in fact did the representatives of the various nations which I mentioned do? I will start with France. Our first contact with the representative of the French government took place in Vladivostok.

The former French ambassador to Japan, an old diplomat, Reneau, invited Vologodskii and me for supper and was a very kindly host. He was very interested in the difficulties which we met and tried to advise and inspire us with the hope that the French government would support our government.

During our conversation, which I had to support as Vologodskii did not speak French, I paid attention that the French ambassador was informed about some details concerning the formation of the Omsk government. I will explain later how he received that information.

Reneau arrived later in Omsk, and at that time I was a temporary Assistant Minister of Foreign Affairs. Sukin was the only one among us who had a certain diplomatic experience.

Guins: We therefore appreciated his presence and used him as much as we could.

Reneau, however, left Omsk very soon. The new representative of the French government was the High Commissar, Count de Martell. He arrived with Mr. Peshkov. He was a French officer who lost one arm on the front. His last name indicated his connections with Alexi Gorkii, who adopted him and gave him a good education in France.

Raymond: Who were the other foreign representatives you met then in Vladivostok?

Guins: I attended in the coach occupied in the train by Vologodskii a visit of the Japanese representative. By the way, we continued to live in the train in which we arrived from Omsk. The Japanese diplomat was of high rank, Count Matsudaira.

He arrived to make acquaintance with Vologodskii after our agreement with General Khorvat and the Far Eastern branch of the Siberian government headed by Mr. Derber. At that moment we represented the whole of Siberia.

I did not take any part in the conversation because Count Matsudaira had his translator, and the conversation itself had a very formal character. It looked like the Japanese diplomat wanted to see what kind of people were the members of the newly established government.

Neither Vologodskii nor I had any diplomatic experience. Fortunately we acquired an assistant. At one of the stations during our trip to Vladivostok a Russian gentleman approached me and introduced himself as a former public notary in St. Petersburg, Mr. Graves.

He told me that one of our employees told him that I was a government employee in St. Petersburg. He decided to meet me and to ask me to help him and his family consisting of a wife and daughter to reach Vladivostok. He told me that he and his wife belonged to the high society in the capital.

The train in which he was going was forced to stop. He had hired a room in the hotel and since that time could not move farther. I arranged room for him and his family in our train and later invited him to stay in Vladivostok as our diplomatic agent.

He agreed, but temporarily only, and was very useful. Mr. Graves could speak French quite fluently, much better than I, and he spoke also English, the language much more used in China and Japan. I did not know that language at

Guins: all. But what had been no less important was that he knew the diplomatic etiquette, which we did not observe, being not familiar with it.

Graves fulfilled the duties of our representative very successfully. All people who had contact with him were very satisfied. He informed us that we could reach an agreement with Japan if we would be ready to discuss some problems of Japanese interests in the Far East.

Certainly we could not consider ourselves having either the right to represent Russia or to promise something in the name of the future government, which at that time had yet to be organized in Ufa. Maybe that was a mistake--had we promised anything then it would have been void anyway with the fall of our government.

But this is only a retrospective approach. In connection with these reminiscences I recollect a particular meeting which took place much later with the Japanese consul in Omsk who was invited to one of the banquets.

During the banquet and after we had drunk sufficiently well, this diplomatic representative told us how much the Japanese government would improve the living conditions in the Trans-Baikal region, how they would build new roads, and so forth.

After listening to him we supposed that the region of the Far East to Lake Baikal was considered in Japan as her sphere of interest. My contacts with the Japanese diplomats continued afterwards for a long time after I moved from Omsk to Irkutsk. I will relate about them later.

Government Personnel and Inefficiencies

Raymond: May I ask you whether you were dissatisfied with the personnel of the government? What was the reason for your appeal for new people from abroad?

Guins: There were several reasons. The first one was that almost all of the ministers had no administrative experience and were not sufficiently prepared for the responsible positions which they occupied.

The Minister of Interior Affairs, for example, had to establish close connections with the Siberian intelligentsia

Guins: for getting the support of public opinion. He had also, as I understood, to secure the government against any possible subversion.

I could not expect that our Minister of Interior Affairs could organize necessary systems of intelligence. The subsequent events, when the anti-governmental movement reached its apex in Irkutsk, became evidence that the Kolchak government was not sufficiently informed about the growing threat.

We had a Minister of Labor and Industrial Relations, but I never heard about that that minister was doing for getting support from the side of the workers.

The second reason for the appeal was that some members of the government were not Siberians and some were too young to have much experience. Under such conditions it would have been a good substitute if we had some members of the government who already had reputations as well-known politicians and civil workers.

The third reason was that the members of the Siberian government had no connections with the conspicuous Russian statesmen and/or politicians who had emigrated to Western Europe. It was necessary from my point of view to have such a connection for exchanging ideas and information and for getting more unity in both general policy and strategy between the Siberian government and other groups and organizations.

I want to add that I was the only member of the government who had a certain experience as regards the organization and activity of the central state institutions. I understood very well that my experience had been insufficient. I considered, besides, that our government was nothing more than a substitute, that it was not a regular government with a necessary authority and stability.

I am afraid that my colleagues in the government did not understand that. Even Sukin, who had diplomatic experience, did not understand that in the eyes of the old foreign diplomats he could not have a sufficient authority. I was embarrassed when Mr. Sukin received an old French diplomat, Mr. Reneau, as if Sukin were a Russian Minister of Foreign Affairs. I accompanied Mr. Reneau up to the exit, compensating him for the lack of politeness on the part of Sukin.

My constantly repeated refusal to accept different high positions in the Siberian government was the result of my

Guins: conscientious realization that I had not sufficient experience, and that I was not a Siberian citizen but a "navoznyi" element. The "navoznyi" (from the word "navozit") were men imported to Siberia as opposed to persons born there.

I was also young and did not belong to any political party and therefore could not get the necessary support. But my resistance was mostly broken because I could not deny that I had more experience in some areas than many other members of the government.

As a person who worked so closely with the chiefs of the Resettlement Administration and later the office of Minister Krivoshein, I knew how important it was to have connections with the press and the groups of politicians, to give public speeches, and to write some articles. And I did all of that.

Raymond: Professor Guins, what was your general opinion about the other members of the Admiral Kolchak government?

Guins: There were many able persons. Professor G. G. Telberg, for example, who replaced me as the chief of the office of the Council of Ministers, was an eloquent speaker and a gifted writer. He was older than I and his academic status was higher than mine. I was glad that he agreed to replace me.

Raymond: What was the reaction from Paris to the wire which you have mentioned about the desired newcomers?

Guins: Nobody expressed a wish to come. Some people arrived, but too late. It was a kind of seasoning offered after the end of the dinner. I should say that Prince G. Lvov, the chairman of the provisional government agreed in Vladivostok to transfer my short note to the Russian ambassador in Tokyo, Mr. Krupenskii.

I want to continue my story more consistently about my contacts with the foreign diplomats for the purpose of returning to the time of the formation of the Omsk government. I understood later that some of the Russian people who visited me at first in Vladivostok and later in Omsk had contact with the foreign diplomats.

Almost all of the foreign diplomats found quickly some Russians who knew their language or one of the most used, like French and English, and through these Russians collected various information which they needed. Peshkov was one of these suppliers of information to the French representatives.

Guins: He and Kurenkov visited me in Vladivostok, and Reneau afterwards invited Vologodskii and me to visit him. Peshkov arrived to Omsk with the new French diplomat, Count de Martel. Before they arrived, Mr. Reneau was living for a while in Omsk. The latter seemed to me more than de Martel interested in the general conditions in Siberia.

We had anyhow good contact with both. But de Martel's interest was not so promising as the interest of Mr. Reneau. He was not interested in the activities of the government and the difficulties which we were encountering in order to have a true picture of Siberia. He was interested mostly in whether or not we would accept General Janin, who arrived in Omsk supposing himself to be Commander-in-Chief of the Siberian front.

Such were the intentions, as I understood them, of the French government, which reckoned on active participation in the operations in Siberia by the Czech divisions.

Raymond: You mean that the French government, from your understanding, wanted Janin to become Chief Commander of the Russian troops?

Guins: Probably so. Anyhow of both Russians and Czechs and, maybe, of the other military formations which could appear in the territory of Siberia. Certainly I was not able to answer the questions of de Martel when he had a conversation with me on that subject because, as I told him, it was a problem which only Admiral Kolchak could solve. This was, I have to add, after the overthrow of the Directory.

The answer also depended on the attitude of the Russian military command. But my personal opinion was, as I told de Martel, that if the offer of the French government would be accepted, I would be personally very satisfied because General Janin and the allies would then be responsible for everything which would happen later on the front.

The problem was decided later in the form of a compromise which could not completely satisfy either the French government and General Janin or Admiral Kolchak, who remained Commander-in-Chief of all military forces and agreed only to inform and consult with General Janin about some military operations when it would be necessary and when it might interest the latter.

The French general accepted this kind of a compromise, because from my point of view, at that time it became more clear that victory would be on the side of the allies. The significance of the Eastern front seemed to be not so important any more as it had seemed at first.

Guins: Later, de Martel was interested in everything related to the Czechs much more than in the problems of the Omsk government itself and the conditions in Siberia. I was disappointed in my expectations that the French representative would be very helpful to us.

Much more constant was the friendship with the British representative, General Knox. From the first day of my acquaintance with him, he was kind enough to come for a visit to Vologodskii and me. We returned him the visit the same day and we met very often afterwards with each other.

General Knox liked my family. He once looked for the place where my family rested outside the city in a country house, and he was surprised how primitive were the conditions of our life there. Once during the dinner which he attended in our city apartment, he was surprised that my wife served the guests herself. An English lady should not do that.

General Knox tried to do everything that was in his power, as one of the most responsible foreign persons, for the supplies of the Russian military forces at the front. Everything he could do, he did. His personal friendship was very sincere up to the end.

When he had to leave Siberia and was returning to Vladivostok, I was in Irkutsk. He found me there and was very sorry, he said, that the conditions had gone from bad to worse. He told me that he was disappointed with the activity of all Western diplomats in Siberia, including the English representatives.

Not quite seriously, of course, he expressed his feelings when he told me that the military forces of the Kolchak government should attack the revolutionary groups (which at that time when we were talking were gathering on the left bank of the river), and not spare the railway station there and the trains in which foreign diplomats of all countries were stalled.

He said if it would be necessary to shoot, not to think about the diplomats, a crowd of people which every country disperses in large numbers. Well, that was certainly not quite serious, but it showed his sympathy to the anti-Communist government and to the Russian forces, and his antipathy toward Communists and leftists.

Later on he asked me about my wife, who lived at Chita at that time, farther to the East where our families could be better protected and from which it would be easier to leave the country and go to Manchuria. I gave him the address, and my wife wrote me later that General Knox sent her a

Guins: present, a little barrel of butter. This was certainly a very good sign of his sympathy and at the same time I understood it as an act of his personal attention to the wife of a member of the government who was in great danger and in great need.

I reminded General Knox of this act of friendship when I saw him in London in 1929. He was then my host in a military club and later was my guide at the House of Commons, as he was at that time an M.P. (member of the House of Commons).

Now I'll return to the other representatives. I remember that besides General Knox there was in Omsk a British representative, Sir Charles Elliot. He also visited me after my trip in the Urals and was very interested in the conditions of the exploration of mines there.

With respect to the United States, I should say that I had no personal contact with any of their representatives at all. I only saw one of them, Mr. Morris, the ambassador of the United States in Japan. He arrived twice for personal contact in Vladivostok.

I was not present during that meeting, and I knew only from Vologodskii that Morris was very ironical, skeptical, and not favorable at all.

Raymond: Ironical and skeptical about what?

Guins: About the government and its chances to be sufficiently strong and successful. The second time I was present during the meeting of all foreign representatives at the Ministry of Foreign Affairs in Omsk when the problem of the supply of the army was discussed. Morris was very polite but not very cooperative. I had no chance to speak directly to him.

Raymond: Did you meet any other American diplomats when you were together with Mr. Sukin, the Deputy Minister of Foreign Affairs in Omsk?

Guins: I did not. As I told earlier, the government asked Mr. Sazonov, as the former Russian Minister of Foreign Affairs, to represent the interests of the Omsk government in Paris. As we could expect, Sazonov preferred to have Sukin as his representative in Omsk, and I returned to the position of the Deputy Minister of Education.

Guins: Afterward, I had personal connections with the diplomats with whom I became friendly earlier. But I want to emphasize that I never heard about any close relations between the members of the Omsk government and the Consul General of the U.S. in Omsk, Mr. Garris. I told the outstanding American diplomat and professor of history Mr. George Kennan about that during our meeting in Washington, D.C. in 1962.

Raymond: What kind of conversation had you with Mr. Kennan?

Guins: He published a first volume of his work on the October Revolution and Soviet-American relations, and before continuing it and writing about the period of the Omsk government, he invited me for a lunch and we discussed the events of 1918 to 1919.

We devoted certainly much time to the relations with the Czechs and with the foreign diplomats. I will not repeat what I have written about the Czechs. My book, as one Russian professor, David Grimm, earlier Rector of the St. Petersburg University, write me from Prague, was "tres mal vu" by Czechs. But that is an old story.

Instead of talking about the Czechs, I prefer to relate a story which I never described and even did not relate, except to some very close friends. It is a story about a very strange, unexpected, and enigmatic visit from a certain Kofod. It was, of course, at the time when I had left already the position of deputy of the Minister of Foreign Affairs.

I had my office in another building. I was informed by my secretary that a foreigner, a representative of the International Red Cross, wanted to see me, and he gave me his card. On the card the last name of the visitor looked like a Scandinavian one. But when he entered I recognized him at once and was surprised to see him. He was Andrei Andreevich Kofod.

I knew Kofod as an employee of the Ministry of Agriculture in St. Petersburg. He was an expert in land settlement, or the enclosure of the commune lands, in connection with the Stolypin law of 1910.

I mentioned his name when I related to you about the Russian tour of the German agricultural experts, who in 1912 asked for permission to make acquaintance with the success of the Stolypin reform. They were accompanied by Mr. Kofod.

Raymond: Kofod, was he a German?

Guins: I believe he was on Danish origin. When he entered I did not tell him that I recognized him and was waiting for what he had to say. He asked me whether it would be possible to arm German prisoners in Siberia in order to have a military force at the disposal of the Omsk government.

I could not tell him anything else except that I considered this absolutely impossible because of all our connections with the allies and the Czechs who took part in the liberation of Siberia from Communism. Well, he told me goodbye and left. I never heard from him again.

And I did not wish to talk about this meeting and this offer to anybody in order not to complicate our position with the allies, who could take the story for a kind of political mystification if not for a possible intrigue.

Raymond: Did you hear about Kofod later? Was he really a representative of the International Red Cross, being a Russian citizen? How did he change the transcription of his last name?

Guins: I did not hear anything more about Kofod. Only much later when I was writing my book, Siberia, Allies, and Kolchak and found an indication that Ataman Semenov's agents killed two Red Cross representatives in the Transbaikal region as two spies, did I think of Kofod.

I remembered the visit of Kofod, and a suspicion flashed across my mind, "Could it be that Kofod was a German spy?" I certainly have no grounds for such suspicion, but I never heard about Kofod since his visit. As to the transcription of his last name, it could be Danish.

Raymond: But if he was a Russian citizen, how could he represent the International Red Cross for protecting German prisoners of war?

Guins: He was Danish by origin, and maybe he changed his nationality from Russian to Danish, or maybe he was employed as a foreign expert, I do not know. But certainly I wish I could know that myself, for his visit remained enigmatic, as well as his appearance and disappearance with lightning speed.

The Local Governments

Raymond: Professor Guins, you have mentioned "Semenov's Agents." Did Semenov recognize the Omsk government or was he in fact independent? Were his representatives accredited with the other local governments which were mentioned in your book?

Guins: The so-called local governments were independent only until unification was established at the Ufa Conference in October, 1918. This conference took place, as I mentioned earlier, for electing an all-Russian government.

It took place just at the time when Vologodskii unified the local governments of the Far-Eastern regions. One of them was headed by Derber, and although it had no power at all, it called itself a "government." It consisted of several members of the Siberian government elected by the "Sibirskaia Duma" and assigned to the Far East.

At the same time there was at the same place a government organized by General Khorvat under the name "Delovoy Kabinet," which means Business Administration, composed of a number of competent persons, but without territory except a part of the maritime province occupied by the railway line and its lands and premises.

In Ufa, besides the United Siberian government, also the Ural government with its center in Ekaterinburg took part, as well as the "Komuch" (Komitet Uchreditelnogo Sobrania) with its center in Samara, the governments of Baskiria, the government of Kazakhs, the "Alash Orda," and several Cossack regional organizations with their centers in Orenburg, the Urals, etc.

The Transbaikal region with its Cossacks headed by Semenov was not represented at the Ufa Conference. Semenov could feel himself more or less independent only because he had been protected by the Japanese troops which temporarily occupied that region.

Since the organization of the Direktoria all the so-called independent territorial organizations recognized the Direktoria as a supreme power and later Admiral Kolchak as its successor and the supreme ruler presumably of the whole Russia free from the Communist rule.

Ataman Semenov

Raymond: Professor Guins, had you any contacts with the representatives of the local or regional, as you called them, governments, in particular with Ataman Semenov?

Guins: I did not attend the Ufa Conference and, therefore, I could not meet the representatives of all pretenders to independence. Occasionally I could of course meet some of them, when, for example, I presided at a conference in Ekaterinburg. About that conference you can find some data in my book and in the memoirs of Baron Budberg, published in the Archives of the Russian Revolution, edited by J. Hessen in Berlin.

I met in Ekaterinburg Mr. Kroll, who played a leading role in the Ural government and, as much as I remember, also published a book which had the character of memoirs. My impression was that nobody there pretended seriously to be independent. It was a problem of temporary organization until other parts of Russia would be freed from the Bolsheviks, and a question of a certain decentralization in the future.

I met also several times Ataman Dutov. Atamans of all Cossack regions were more or less independent at that time, but in the Asiatic Russia about which I can tell on the basis of personal impressions, only Ataman Semenov used to be more independent from the Siberian government because of his dependence on the Japanese protectors.

I saw Semenov personally three times. The first time, when he came to visit Vologodskii in Vladivostok, was in the train. I was not present during that visit.

The second time it was I who visited him. It was in November, 1919, in Chita, where at that time my family was living. I arrived from Irkutsk to see my wife and children and visited Semenov to inform him about the conditions on the front and in Irkutsk, and to express my hope that he would send some detachments for supporting order in Irkutsk.

He did it, but it was too late. I could observe from the right bank of the Angara River how the "Semenovtsy" fought on the left bank, where there were the railway station and tracks.

The third time I met Semenov on the platform of the station Dairen (formerly Dalni) where I arrived going to

Guins: Tsingtao for a short rest. We only welcomed each other from a distance. Semenov looked then as a degraded man; he was a heavy drunk.

In 1940 or 1941 I became a target of various attacks in the Harbin press from the side of the local fascists, headed by my former student Rodzaevskii. Quite unexpectedly in one of the newspapers a letter signed by Ataman Semenov appeared, in which he defended and praised me.

Still later I received from him a personal letter in which he informed me that Great Britain was interested in restoring a Russian anti-Communist movement in the Far East, and he asked me whether or not I would join that movement.

I could not understand that letter other than as a provocation. Semenov signed it, but somebody else was the author of the letter. I answered Semenov that I was not informed about any movement in the Far East and could not imagine interest by the British government in such a kind of adventure.

Raymond: What were the interrelations between the Kolchak government and Semenov?

Guins: When Kolchak became the supreme ruler, Semenov began to sabotage him. He stopped the trains, confiscated some stocks of valuable goods like furs, etc. It was very difficult to pacify him because he felt himself isolated and well-protected.

Admiral Kolchak, in conformity with the decision of the government, decided not to undertake any repressive measures, but to send to Semenov a person who could appeal to Semenov's patriotism. It was a success. The interrelations became more satisfactory.

As regards domestic affairs in the province of the Transbaikal region, the Omsk government did not interfere, as it also did not interfere in the affairs of the Orenburg Cossacks. It was not a separatism but the inevitable decentralization. But I think that is enough about the regional governments.

Raymond: Of course, since there is your published work. But there is another problem. What kind of interrelations existed between Kolchak's government and General Denikin and Iudenich?

Guins: A certain unification of the activity of all military formations and their commanders-in-chief, geographically separated,

Guins: was certainly absolutely necessary from two points of view. First, for the coordination of military campaigns, and second, for the coordinated policy as regards agreements with the foreign governments and a general policy toward the Communist government and the future of Russia.

Since my disengagement from foreign affairs, which, as I told earlier, followed the invitation of Sazonov and the concentration of correspondence and personal meetings with the representatives of foreign governments in the hands of the Supreme Ruler and Sukin, I was not informed of the details of foreign policy.

Admiral Kolchak invited almost every week Vologodskii and several ministers for consultations. I did not take part in those meetings. But sometimes I was asked privately to express my opinion.

At the end of December I became very seriously ill; I was in bed with a high fever. One of the ministers visited me and told me that Admiral Kolchak received an offer to send a representative to the "Prince's Islands." All other governments, those of General Denikin and General Iudenich in European Russia, were also invited to meet there the representatives of the Moscow Communist government and to agree with them about coexistence.

My opinion was that this offer would be expedient without the Communists, that we should reach an agreement of all the anti-Communist governments to be able to coordinate our efforts and means to act.

However my temperature rose so quickly that in one or two hours I lost consciousness. It proved to be the spotted typhus (syphoi tiph), and I did not know what happened for nearly two weeks. For a while my condition of health was very dangerous.

Raymond: How did you contract the infection?

Guins: It was possibly due to the constant use of hired coachmen who sometimes took sick people and soldiers transferred from the front. There were no preventive measures, and it was no wonder that the disease began to spread over all of Siberia.

Raymond: Did you keep consciousness during your sickness?

Guins: No, I was delirious, but one dream stayed with me. I felt myself to be in Moscow but not as a member of the government and not as a free man, but as a man who had to hide. I

Guins: remember this existence as a man in a trap who could be arrested at any time. That was a real nightmare.

After my illness it was necessary to take several weeks of leave to restore my strength. I was very weak. But my colleagues did not let me completely restore my health and strength. They began to exploit me while I was still weak.

For example, I was taken once to a private meeting where I became dizzy. Again there was some kind of disagreement among the ministers about the problem of who would be in the cabinet. Anyway, I continued to be more or less in a responsible position.

There was an idea which was suggested by the foreign representatives, namely, that besides the Council of Ministers and the Supreme Ruler there was a need for a substitute representative organ. It was because the governments of Western Europe were dubious about the character of the dictatorship of Admiral Kolchak that he decided originally to organize a council of experts in civil problems.

He asked me to be the chairman of this council. That was already a responsible position, because there was not only the problem of being chairman, but it was also necessary to organize this group, to choose the problems under discussion, and to direct the discussions.

I told the Admiral that such a kind of experts' council would not be sufficient if he wanted to satisfy the democratic governments of Europe. He had, in my view, to invite representatives of various parts of Siberia.

For a long time he opposed my plan. But during my trip with him to Tololsk he finally agreed. I had a long conversation with him, and we organized this council of representatives of Siberian regions under the name Gosudarstvennoe Ekonomicheskoe Soveshchanie (State Economic Council). It looked more like a consultative body.

Military Setbacks

But unfortunately, the military operations on the Siberian front, which had at first been very successful during the first months of 1919, developed later from bad to worse. The front was approaching closer and closer to Omsk.

Raymond: Why was this so?

Guins: This is difficult to say. Perhaps the Bolsheviks succeeded to organize better their forces; perhaps because Iudenich was defeated on the Leningrad-Riga anti-Communist front, which for a while threatened Leningrad.

It was a great mistake that Kolchak refused to accept the proposal of Marshal Mannerheim to move Finnish troops and to take Leningrad together with Iudenich under the condition that Kolchak acknowledge the independence of Finland.

He declined the offer of Mannerheim under the pretext that he was only a temporary ruler and could not decide problems which only the Constitutional Assembly could decide. That was a great political mistake. Iudenich ceased to exist.

Denikin approached Moscow for a while. He was not so far from Moscow when the conditions on his front began to become unfavorable and he lost the territory which he already controlled.

At that time many officers of the former Tsar's troops began to cooperate with the Bolsheviks by declaring that the anti-Communist campaign proved to be a 'pathological war' supported by foreigners for destroying Russia.

Role of the Siberian Peasants

Raymond: Did the Siberian population really and truly support Kolchak, or did they just tolerate him?

Guins: They certainly only tolerated him, and that was one of the important causes of the unsuccessful operations on the front. The population of Siberia did not know the Communists. At the time of the overthrow in May to June, 1918, it was enough for a unit of Czechs to appear, and the Communists were forced to leave, having no hope to resist successfully.

On the other hand, the population did not understand why it was necessary to fight and had no idea about Communists and what they could lose in case of the defeat or win in case of the victory.

Guins: When I was once with Vologodskii inside of one of the steppe regions and had conversations with the peasants, they asked me whether Kolchak was a British officer or not. They had absolutely no knowledge of the whole affair, because Siberia had at that time no communications as did European Russia; they were more or less isolated.

The average level of knowledge and understanding in the country, far from the cities, was not the same as that of the average Russians in the cities. No wonder that the Siberian peasants did not understand what happened.

When I was in a little village on the bank of the river Irtysh, as I told you earlier, I had no contact with the peasants especially at that time because there was a time of recruitment, and the draft for military service was accepted in such a manner by the population of the village that I was afraid that they would attack the house in which I was living.

Raymond: In other words, the Siberian peasantry did not want to become engaged in any military affairs?

Guins: I think so, and they could hardly understand what kind of authority existed in Omsk. The anti-Communist government had not sufficient support in Siberia. On the other hand, the Bolsheviks had at their disposal a considerable part of the population dissatisfied with the former regime.

Evacuation of the Government from Omsk

In October, 1919, Kolchak told us that it was necessary to evacuate Omsk and the families of all the ministers must go to the East. My family received a car into which my wife invited the families of other people who also wanted to be evacuated. And they arrived in Chita, in the Transbaikal region.

There were Japanese troops there, and it was a safer place for our families than Omsk.

The Fall of Kolchak's Government, A Summary

Raymond: May I ask you, Professor Guins, to summarize your statements concerning the reasons for the fall of Admiral Kolchak's government?

Guins: To answer such a kind of question in a short form is usually more difficult than to relate about various circumstances and events. But it will be easier for me, I believe, because just the same question was offered to me by the Russian diplomat, M. Giers, who was before the war Russian ambassador in Rome and in 1929, when I was in Paris, considered by the foreign and Russian diplomats to be the most authoritative representative among the Russian pre-revolutionary diplomats.

I answered him not in a very short form, but at present it will be possible to shorten it more than then because I related to you many of the circumstances already.

From my point of view, it was very important that the anti-Communist government had no unified and progressive program for the future Russia and, therefore, repeated the mistake of the provisional government, which did not oppose the Lenin promises with a sound and satisfactory program for attracting the sympathies of peasants and workers.

The provisional government referred matters to the future Constituent Assembly; Admiral Kolchak did the same. He could not recognize the independence of Finland or promise the Bashkirs and Kazakhs a cultural autonomy and the peasants the right to the lands which they had occupied since the revolution.

From the military point of view I had the impression that there was no necessary coordination between the offensive plans of Kolchak, Denikin and Iudenich. But I must add that I was not sufficiently informed during a long period when my role was considerably diminished.

If I can nevertheless speak about insufficient coordination, it is because after my return to more active participation in government affairs, when I began to take part in all consultations of the Admiral with the selected members of the government, I never heard about coordination of the operations between Kolchak and Denikin.

Guins: And in Tobolsk, where a man from Archangelsk unexpectedly appeared, the Admiral received him and it was easy to notice that the Admiral had no more information about the operations and conditions on the potential northern front than anyone else.

Last but not least, the home front of the Kolchak military forces was less favorable than General Denikin had in the Don region and in the Caucasus. The original allies, the Czechs, became a burden.

The Siberian intelligentsia was mostly predisposed toward socialism, and among Siberian intellectuals there were very few experienced in public work because there did not exist either zemstvo or municipal self-government. Meanwhile, the experienced people from the Western emigration remained indifferent toward the appeals from Omsk.

It is not correct, however, to discuss the Siberian campaign separately from the general situation after the end of the war. Among the Allies there was no unity. The ironical attitude of General Knox toward the diplomats reflected his condemnation, I believe, of the pacifist trends as regards the Allies' attitude toward the Communists.

The Allies' attitude was not constant: it changed in conformity with the conditions on the war fronts. The Allies were interested in supporting Russian anti-German fronts and, consequently, in supporting the anti-Communist forces when the decisive Allied preponderance was still not secured.

Later, especially after the armistice, it became hardly possible to speak about the attitude of the Allies or to have them in mind at all. Japan was interested either in the disintegration of Russia or at least in her weakening in order to spread her own influence in northern Manchuria and, if possible, in the whole Far-Eastern area up to the Baikal.

France, as I concluded by reading one momentous article (which I mentioned in speaking about the Minister Naumov's visit to my office room) was not interested in the restoration of a strong Russia.

Great Britain was afraid of Communism and its propaganda in her colonies and was ready to support Russian counter-revolution. Admiral Kolchak was a creature of that trend, which was represented by General Knox. But some British diplomats who were skeptical as regards the strength of the anti-Communists, discussed the problem of cooperation, possible even with the cannibals (Lloyd George).

Guins: Finally, the U.S.A. was interested in the containment of Japan in the Far East but not in anti-Communism as one of the varieties of democracy.

Under such conditions it was very difficult to secure a common Allied policy during the civil war, and Admiral Kolchak became finally a victim of political circumstances.

Military Operations and Errors

Raymond: Professor Guins, you do not mention the military operations. It is understood that you could not be informed about military plans and their realization, but possibly you heard how your military friends and, maybe, foreign experts did appreciate them?

Guins: I visited once General N. N. Golovin, who arrived to Omsk from Western Europe and was working, according to the request of the Admiral, in his general headquarters. My visit preceded an important operation, which was considered very significant and would in the case of success radically change the situation on the front in favor of the anti-Communist forces.

Golovin tried to evade my question. He left the impression of a tired man, and I left him quite dissatisfied. In the meantime the military operation did not succeed. The Admiral told me that I had to go to Irkutsk together with the government.

I was at that time the chief of his office--of the office of the Council of Minister, the Minister-at-Large, and the chairman of the State Council. Vologodskii resigned and his successor, Pepeliaev, remained in Omsk with the Admiral.

According to my impressions there were many military mistakes, but what was probably the most important was the fact that there was a competition between the White armies. Both Denikin's and Kolchak's generals wanted to enter first to Moscow.

I heard from our Minister of War, General V. I. Surine, that he was deprived of the right to dispose ammunition as he found it most expedient in conformity with the needs of the army, because he received instructions to keep as much as possible for the equipment of the great army which would be recruited one and a half million strong of the eve of the entry into Moscow.

Guins: There was no coordination of the operations between General Denikin and Admiral Kolchak, and it was hardly possible to establish a common general headquarters for two isolated armies. But the main blow should and could have been coordinated.

In the meantime I had the impression after my visit in Perm with General Gaida that there was a tendency of a movement in the northern direction, although some of the generals recommended approaching the army of General Denikin. It was possible that Gaida acted in the interests of his compatriots the Czechs, who might be evacuated from Archangelsk.

I told you this, Mr. Raymond, reluctantly, because I do not like to speak on subjects which are not in my competence. Let me at present characterize the situation in Irkutsk.

Raymond: Of course, Professor Guins. In your book, Siberia, Allies and Kolchak, you have written much about the agony of the Siberian government in Irkutsk. But a general characterization would be very desirable.

The Government in Irkutsk

Guins: The government arrived to Irkutsk having lost hope in the possibility to improve conditions on the front. The main purpose was to support order and to secure the possibility for the army to retreat without considerable losses. But even such a task met with insuperable obstacles.

Raymond: Insuperable obstacles? Why?

Guins: The armed Czechs, who guarded the Siberian railway, occupied the rolling stock and organized their control over the traffic. Foreigners had everywhere priority. The government, deprived of the support of the Supreme Ruler and headed by Tretiakov, ceased to work.

Tretiakov obviously lost his head, feeling himself trapped, and thought only how to escape back to Paris from where he arrived to help the Kolchak government. Opposition raised its head. The new moods found reflection in the question offered to me from the floor during the meeting of

Guins: the State Council: "Is the government ready to negotiate with the Communists about the armistice?"

As a chairman of the State Council, I answered, "The government leading the fight against Communism will never conclude a peace with the Bolsheviks."

In the meantime, Tretiakov began already negotiations with the leftists who represented a potential authority in the case of surrender. He tried to get a guarantee of the free evacuation of the members of the government. The Allies took part in these negotiations. Tretiakov did not inform me about his plans.

Every new day approached us to the fateful end. Once a Japanese major visited me in my office and asked me about the situation. He was certainly informed better than I was. I understood that he wanted to be informed about the plans of the government.

I told him that I would report to the Admiral by direct line about the situation in Irkutsk and ask for his instructions, as I did not expect any improvement there. The major was very kind.

When he arose for going away, I accompanied him to the staircase, as my office was on the second floor. In the corridor I noticed about five people, whom I recognized as members of the socialist groups, partisans of negotiations with the Communists. I did not notice, however, any desire on their parts to approach me, and I returned to my office and soon left.

One of my assistants approached me on the staircase and told me that he heard about a possible uprising in the city. At that moment we heard several gunshots outside. My assistant told me, "Do not return to the hotel. Come with me and wait at my apartment up to the time when we will know what happened."

It was evening time already. I passed the night with my assistant and his family. Next morning he went away and returned with the information that the uprising was postponed.

I ordered the line prepared for a conversation with the Admiral. At evening I was informed that the Admiral stopped his train at one of the stations and was waiting for my report. A certain part of my report was ciphered; the other was wired as usual.

Guins: I was informed that the bridge over the Angara River was swaying in the meantime and that on the Angara was floating ice. Connection with the railway station of the other bank of the river had been broken.

The whole text of my report to the Admiral was published in the Red Archives many years later. It could be found among the papers which were taken after the arrest of Admiral Kolchak.

The uprising took place several days later. In that atmosphere of defeatism everybody looked for the means of self-protection and the possibility to escape.

Raymond: How did you escape? You did not relate it in your book.

Guins's Escape

Guins: It had not any historical value, but in my personal life it was a momentous event. Knowing that the situation was hopeless, that the governor of the Irkutsk region could be on the side of the opposition, and having no confidence in Tretiakov, the temporary chairman of the Council of Ministers, I could reckon only on the help of some personal friends.

I prepared my suitcase, putting inside the most necessary things, and sent it with my personal guard to Vologodskii who, I was sure, would take it and transfer it to my wife when he left himself. Vologodskii resigned earlier and I did not suppose that he could be arrested.

Then I accepted the offer of my physician to come to him in the case of the necessity to hide. He gave me his address and a key to his room and explained how to find him. It was not far from the hotel Modern, in which the members of the government and its members were living.

My friend told me that he would try to get for me a Chinese dress for disguising and changing my appearance. Up to the last moment I did not wish to leave the hotel, although I was informed that many members of the government

Guins: were already unavailable. Among them and maybe earlier than the others disappeared the ministers of war and of the navy (we had such a one although we had no fleet). A devoted officer of the guard offered to accompany me and told me that to remain in the hotel would be very dangerous.

I agreed. We left and began to cross the square before the frontal part of the hotel. There were some people on the sidewalks of the square, but we had the impression that nobody paid attention to us. However our impression proved to be wrong.

From the other side of the square an officer and a soldier with a gun in his hand were approaching us, evidently to meet us. The officer told me, "You are arrested."

My companion, also an officer, began to ask, "What are you doing? Whom do you serve." People approached from all sides. In some minutes we were surrounded by the curious people who simply wanted to know what happened.

The officer who arrested me was drunk. I knew it at once because of the specific smell. I used the moment and, letting other people approach closer to the officers, pressed myself back and disappeared. It was instinctively done. After some minutes I was beyond the threat.

I was free. But when I came to my hideout I understood that it was only the beginning. How will I reach the opposite bank of the river? The bridge is swaying; the ice is floating. If I get to the other bank, how to leave? All trains are overcrowded and I do not know whom I have to address for a space.

But that was not all. I began to reappraise my decision to leave, reminding myself that the guards of the offices of the Supreme Ruler and of the Council of Ministers were committed to me. I had to warn them that I was quitting my position and wanted to escape.

It was already dark when I returned to the hotel. Nobody paid attention to me. The hotel was almost deserted. I found easily Captain Antipin, the chief of the guard, and asked him what he and the other officers decided to do-- that I was ready to share with them their decision and destiny.

He answered me that the problem was discussed and that the decision was not to move. Their role was not a political one, and they did not want, besides, to join the forces of

Guins: Ataman Semenov, if they reached the Transbaikal region.

We told goodbye to each other and I turned back for leaving the hotel for the second time. At the entrance door there was at that time the Japanese major who visited me several days ago. He shook my hand and told me, "The door of our military mission is open for you, Mr. Guins." I thanked him and left.

In front of the door was the carriage of the Council of Ministers. "Who do you wait for?" I asked the coachman.

"For Professor Engelfeld," he answered.

Engelfeld, a legal counsel of the office of the Council of Ministers, appeared at that time at the door and, seeing me, exclaimed, "How I am happy! We were worrying about you. Take a place and let us go together." He did not ask me where I had been and where I was going.

As I told earlier, the house where I had to stay was not far. But I decided instantly to leave as soon as possible. Who knows, the carriage of the government could be recognized. I stopped the coachman and said goodbye to Engelfeld. "Here I am," I told him.

Many months later we met each other in Harbin, Manchuria, and Engelfeld told me, "Later, in one or two minutes after you left the carriage, it was stopped by a picket. They asked the coachman whom he drove and where. He called my name," said Engelfeld, "then they required me to show documents. Everything was in order. They let me go. How fortunate that you left the carriage earlier!"

If I had known it the same day, I hardly would have been happy to know how many chances there were to be arrested for the second time. I had a key from the room and returned. My host still was absent. He came later and suggested me to go to bed and try to sleep.

"Tomorrow morning we will discuss and decide what to do later," said he. But I could not sleep. During the whole night I thought about my family and could not reach any decision about what might be done for my wife and two boys if I would be deprived of freedom. I thought about how I could escape.

Guins: I could not forget the suggestion of the Japanese major, but I did not even know where the Japanese military mission was located.

Next morning I shaved myself to become "unrecognizable without moustaches," took my paper bag in which were all my belongings, and left, having said to my hospitable friend that I would return if I did not find some means to be delivered to the train.

I was walking along a street where there were no shops. It was an ordinary street of the provincial city, where only constant inhabitants were ordinarily moving during an early morning. An unknown passer-by was approaching me going on the same sidewalk in the opposite direction.

But Mr. Raymond, it seems to me that I give you too many details.

Raymond: Oh, Professor Guins, I am listening to you with a great interest, and I believe that any reader of these documents of oral history will appreciate the story of a minister who is transformed into a persecuted man who doesn't know what will happen in the next few hours. Be kind enough to continue.

Guins: Well, the unknown passer-by instantly stopped and exclaimed, "Professor Guins!" I was amazed. It was a cold winter morning. I raised my fur collar and tried to close my face as deep as it was possible behind the collar and fur hat. And besides my black moustaches were shaved.

"How could you recognize me?" I asked. "And why are you so surprised?"

"Everybody will recognize you who knows you. But how could I not be surprised when all the newspapers informed in thick, large print that Professor Guins was yesterday evening arrested in front of the hotel Modern, from which he tried to escape. Even in the window shops on the Atamanskaia Street there are posters with the same news."

"As you can see it has been a misunderstanding," I told the passer-by, and I thanked him for his information. I knew then what to do. I directed my steps to the British military mission as General Knox had suggested to me. My

Guins: reference to the General was sufficient for getting effective help.

The British officer explained to me that there were only eight persons in the mission, and that all of them were well-known to the official persons and the militia. "The best we can do, and it will be the best for you," he added, "is to go with me to the Japanese military mission. They have many means to arrange for you at the mission and to secure your departure in one of the military trains which are at the disposal of the mission."

And he invited me to take a place in the side-car attached to the military motorcycle. We were going along the streets of the central part of the city and he stopped in front of the building occupied by the Japanese military mission. I was then in the best hands.

Raymond: How long a time were you in the premises of the mission?

Guins: I was received in a very friendly way. The chief of the mission, Colonel of the general staff Fukuda, was more or less official in his attitude, but Major Mike was very amiable. I could sleep with comfort, received good meals and newspapers for reading.

But one day passed after the other, and I did not hear any word about a potential departure. I did not ask on my part, considering such a question as not polite, expressing either my impatience or lack of confidence. But once I became confused and disquieted.

I do not remember who it was, but one of the officers of the Japanese mission asked me why I was not leaving my room and walking in the city. "There are so many people everywhere. All are happy; it is very interesting to see various people and listen to their conversations." I answered him that I could not share their happiness and preferred not to see these happy people.

Raymond: Did you see anybody else besides the members of the Japanese mission during your seclusion?

Guins: The house in which I was living belonged to a Russian engineer, Rassushin. It was the beginning of January, 1920. On the eve of the new year I was still in the hotel listening to the gunshots. There were skirmishes between the loyal

Guins: detachments and the partisans mobilized by the leftist groups, which preferred to cooperate with the Communists.

I was received in the Japanese mission at the time which coincided with the Russian Christmas holidays according to the old style calendar. I decided to make a visit to the family Rassushin, and they proved to be very hospitable people.

Another of my discoveries was the French general consulate, which, as the Rassushins informed me, occupied the first floor of their building. I knew personally the Consul-general and decided to descend via the back door and to visit the consul.

He was surprised to see me, but when I asked him with a certain reservation whether the consulate had helped some Russian officials to escape, the Consul-general answered, "How could we do it? We do not wish to spoil our relations with the new government? It was a good lesson for me.

My expectation was at last fulfilled; I was at last informed about a possible departure. I was told to be ready for leaving about midnight. I took a place in the car in which were only a Japanese officer and a driver. We reached Angara.

The officer went away and for a while I could hear an animated conversation which seemed to be rather a discussion. At last it was interrupted and the officer returned and did not say anything. The car started off. After a certain time we approached the building occupied by the Japanese military mission. The departure did not succeed.

Two days more passed. I was told again that we will move during the night. This time it was close to the day-break. It was still dark, but we could discern the moving blocks of ice on the river and a boat moored to the bank. There were two persons in the boat. There were no other people on the bank.

We took place in the boat and began to move between the blocks of ice, taking direction toward the other bank. Having reached the opposing bank we were walking along the railway tracks and trains.

At last our guide, who was one of the persons in the boat, indicated to us the train and car into which we had to

Guins: enter. It was a passenger sleeping car of the Russian railways. In that car I had to live, again without exact knowledge of when we would move. I was not the only Russian in that car.

Raymond: Did you know the other people?

Guins: At first, there was only one Russian family, husband and wife, Suleima-Samoilovs, whom I did not know earlier. I remember how the gentleman consoled all who had either some trouble or doubts, repeating the same sentence, "Zato shkurku spasil" (Do not forget that your life is saved). I liked that man; he was cheerful and encouraged the others.

Later arrived Vologodskii. His wife and daughter were in Chita like mine. Professor Ustialov joined us with his family and the former Minister of Interior Affairs, Guttenberger. I do not remember all. Only one half of the car had been left for the Russian refugees; the other half was occupied by the Japanese officers.

Vologodskii arrived with his luggage. Among his suitcases there was mine, which I sent to him with my soldier guard. Giving me my suitcase, Vologodskii expressed his surprise that I sent to him an empty suitcase and told me that he put into it some of his own belongings.

"Empty?" I said, surprised in turn.

"Yes, empty," repeated Vologodskii. There were no doubts; my soldier guard was a thief. He appropriated my belongings and carried the emptied suitcase as it was addressed. I found then the answer to my other question which sometimes appeared in my head in connection with the circumstances of my arrest in front of the hotel.

I could not understand how a tipsy officer could know who I was. If he knew me, why did he not watch me and begin to argue with my companion, letting me recede and disappear? Now I began to suspect that my guard served as an agent to the conspirators and that he warned my enemies that I was preparing to leave the hotel.

The officer who was charged with the function of arresting me did not know who namely was Guins, and my devoted defender could delude him by playing the role of Guins.

Raymond: Professor Guins, listening to you, I am surprised how the members of the government were unsatisfactorily protected. How could it happen that you had such an unreliable man?

Guins: As regards this particular case, it was very simple. We had a woman cook in Omsk, and she asked my wife to let her husband, a soldier, serve with her at our home. My guard was this husband. He accompanied my family to Chita during its evacuation, and my wife sent him to Irkutsk to watch me there.

He had arranged his bed in the corridor just in front of my room in the hotel and fulfilled my various orders. When I told later my wife about my suspicions, she nodded. She had some doubts too, as she heard once our woman cook reproaching her husband for his greediness. She told him, "Didn't you steal enough already?" But my wife could not foresee that this dubious guard could be also a Judas, a betrayer.

As concerns our protection in general, it did not exist in fact. There was nothing easier than to arrest any one of the members of the government. So it was not surprising that Vologodskii supposed once that the officer who came with soldiers and occupied a position in front of the house came to arrest him. Vologodskii asked him whether he came to arrest him and was answered, "No, sir, to protect you."

Raymond: How soon did the Japanese train move from Irkutsk?

Guins: We had to live in the train staying at the Irkutsk station for several days, maybe a week. Traffic was very heavy. One after the other were going to the Far East echelons for evacuating the Czechs. Though well-protected in the Japanese train and in the car, a part of which occupied the Japanese officers, we, the Russian refugees, had to survive still one more disquieting hour.

Once in the evening, we heard a loud arguing outside the car. Inside the car Japanese officers and soldiers began to move from one side to the other. We began to worry about possible complications.

Ustrialov, who among his various gifts did not possess either courage or stability, began to repent loudly that he did such mistake to prefer to be evacuated to the East instead of returning to the West. He forgot that not so long ago he welcomed the arrival of Ataman Semenov's detachment and after the first gunshot from the left bank of the Angara River exclaimed in his article, "This was the first visiting card of Ataman Semenov."

In the meantime, the arguing became more calm. The Japanese soldiers carried in their hands various cans with

Guins: food and cigarettes, and the incident was over. The uninvited guests left pacified with the friendly presents.

Several days later the train started to move. We passed several tunnels, and when we reached the eastern shore of the Baikal we felt at last that we were safe. From the first large station Vologodskii and I sent a wire to the vice-governor, Volgin, in Chita, asking him to inform our families that we were on the way to Chita.

Raymond: Your wife, Professor Guins, did not know anything about what was happening to you?

Guins: When I arrived, she told me that she tried every day to see somebody of our common friends, among them some members of the government, who succeeded to cross the bridge over Angara before it was swaying and who arrived to Chita either with the Czechs or with other foreigners.

However, they tried to evade her, she told me. As to the Czechs, among whom was Koshek, who had visited us often in Omsk, they told my wife that she might be sure that the Czechs would help Mr. Guins to escape.

Raymond: Why did your Russian friends try to evade your wife?

Guins: They explained later that they were informed either from the Irkutsk newspapers which reached Chita or from the passengers who passed by Irkutsk, about my arrest, and they were afraid that such an arrest could be fatal.

Raymond: I believe, Professor Guins, that your story could be used in the future by a writer for a historical novel. It was both dramatic and informative from the point of view of the political conditions of the period of the civil war and even of the international relations during the intervention in Siberia.

With the historical background it acquires a variegated interest. You told me earlier that you did not see Ataman Semenov more than once. Does that mean that you decided to discontinue your participation in the civil war and not visit him once more?

Guins: That's right. But I have to add that I never would like to participate in the civil war together with Semenov. He was not a man who could inspire people for any struggle based on patriotism and progressive principles.

Other Local Anti-Communist Governments

Raymond: Anyhow, Semenov became after the fall of Admiral Kolchak and his government independent, did he not? And there were some other local governments in the Far East which continued to resist Communism. Will you please tell me briefly about them?

Guins: Oh, yes. After the fall of Admiral Kolchak, Semenov was considered by himself and by his partisans to be successor to the Admiral, as the Admiral signed on the way to Irkutsk an act in which he transferred to Semenov his rights as commander of troops but not of Supreme Ruler. The Admiral wanted to see General Denikin as the latter.

On the basis of the mentioned act signed by the Admiral in the train when he was not sure that he would survive, Semenov pretended to be Kolchak's successor. But he was completely dependent on Japanese commanders. In the meantime another government was formed in Irkutsk and was recognized by the Japanese.

Raymond: What was the name of that government?

Guins: Dal'nevostochnaia Respublika (the Far-Eastern Republic). It was a buffer state, a temporary compromise acceptable to Japan, which still hoped to retain her influence in a certain part of the Russian Far East.

Raymond: Was this a Communist government in fact?

Guins: It was completely dependent on the Soviet government. The whole legislation was but a duplication of the Soviet decrees. I had a part of the Collection of Laws of the Far-Eastern Republic. It is at present in the Hoover Library.

Raymond: What about Merkulov's government in Vladivostok?

Guins: It was supported by the Japanese. In its competence was only the Maritime province, which was not included into the Far-Eastern Republic.

The Fate of Members of Kolchak's Government

Raymond: There were about ten members of the Kolchak government in Omsk, were there not? What was the destiny of them? Did

Raymond: they all, like you, escape to the Far East?

Guins: Under the circumstances of the last days of the government, its members were disunited, and each one acted according to his own plan and initiative. Several members decided to stay in Irkutsk. Some of them were tried and sentenced to imprisonment and, as much as I know, continued later to work with the new government.

One, the Minister of Labor, Shumilovskii, was executed as a Social Democrat who betrayed his party, his Marxist ideology, and the interests of the proletariat. One of the four members of the government which arrived from Paris, Cherven Vodaly, also remained in Irkutsk and was also executed. He, probably, was known as a participant in various conspiracies against the Soviet government and in the anti-Communist movement in the south of Russia. He was a brave man and did not wish to hide himself, as I understand.

The other three who, like Cherven Vodaly, arrived from Paris were Tretiakov, Buryshkin, and Vokov. They passed the last days before the defeat on the other bank of the Angara. They took part in the negotiations with the representatives of the leaders of the uprising about the stopping of the struggle and conditions of the surrender.

The negotiations took place either in the evacuated train of the Czechs or the French mission. Some other ministers succeeded also to leave Irkutsk and to find refuge in the echelons of the foreign missions. I was only one who escaped with the complications of a dramatic character and was hunted like a wild animal.

Reasons for the Special Pursuit of Guins

Raymond: How do you explain such an enviable fate? Were you an especially odious man? And if so, why?

Guins: I am glad that you have offered me such a question. I believe, first, that among the members of the government there were only a few who did not quit their positions up to the last day. Even Vologodskii resigned earlier, and the Minister of Finance, J. A. Mikhailov was replaced by one of the directors of the Russo-Asiatic Bank, Levon-Goyer. I had, therefore,

Guins: to be responsible for all the mistakes and wrong acts of the government.

I was, besides, very unpopular among the members of the Socialist Revolutionary Party. They considered me as a reactionary and enemy of the party. That was the second point. Disregarding of the Siberian Regional Duma, the formation of the Administrative Council which was composed of specialists and not of the party men, the liquidation of the Far Eastern branch of the Siberian government in Vladivostok--all that could be ascribed to my intrigues and anti-socialist convictions and activity.

In Irkutsk only did I declare in the State Council that the 'anti-Communist government will not conclude a pact of peace with the Communists.' This was probably the third reason for the enmity.

I became a target of unfriendliness due to my writings in newspapers, speaking in public meetings, and my acting in the role of a member of the government--chairman of the State Council--and my being a close friend of Vologodskii and being a person myself who had deserved the confidence of the Supreme Ruler.

Every time when some persons wanted to incite Admiral Kolchak against me, they failed. And I remained true to my duty up to the last. I was the last to leave. I informed the Admiral about the imminent defeat in Irkutsk and left my post only when there was not a single man from among the members of the government on duty.

But I forgot to say that the chairman of the Council of Ministers, Pepeliaev, remained in Omsk together with the Supreme Ruler, Admiral Kolchak, and was executed together with him.

Raymond: Were you really an irreconcilable enemy of the socialists?

Guins: I never was a socialist, but I was not a reactionary. I was not a monarchist, if monarchy is understood as an autocracy. From the point of my convictions, Russia needed constitutional monarchy and a collective government was the worst kind of supreme power.

I was and continue to be a partisan of the private initiative and competition, but I was and am also an ardent supporter of wide social reforms, self-government, and decentralization.

Guins: I believe, however, that it would be better to continue our conversation about the events and impressions than about political convictions and programs. Is not?

Raymond: I don't dare to object. I am eager to hear about your sojourn in Chita and your plans for the future. Did you decide to go to Vladivostok or to Harbin?

Leaving for Manchuria (Harbin)

Guins: In Chita I was staying hardly more than three days. All my compatriots who left Irkutsk together with me in the Japanese train remained in the car in which we arrived. My place was also kept for me and a certain room was secured for my wife and children.

But I left the car and was living with my family, helping my wife to prepare all the belongings for delivering them to the train. That time I did not see any official persons in Chita.

As soon as I was informed that our train will leave, I hired a cart for transporting luggage and moved to the station. There was again a certain complication. At the station I was informed that the car will be included into the train not on the main but on the suburban station, and that the car already was sent there.

I directed my cart there, but when we came I was told that the train was already composed and had to move to the main station. I only succeeded to find the car in which were all my fellow-travelers and carry there some pieces of our luggage. I left the car when the train started to move, before my cart had been emptied.

I hastened to return to the main station, at the distance of a half hour, going again in the cart. Everything ended well, however. The train was staying in the main station for several hours, and we arranged everything without new complications.

I relate such details simply for characterizing the conditions under which we, the people deprived of our legal status were becoming dependent on the mercy of other people, various occasional circumstances, and, in my case, on the

Guins: mercy of the foreigners although in our native country.

Raymond: Did you feel such a dependence being under the protection of the Japanese?

Guins: No. The attitude of the Japanese was and remained exclusively friendly and courteous. We received meals. Everything was arranged for securing comfort for the women and children. Some primitive curtains were hung for separating one family from the other inside the car, which had no compartments.

Raymond: Maybe you were offered to take a certain position in Vladivostok, where, as I understood you, the Japanese politically dominated?

Guins: There was indeed a proposal. It happened so. During our trip in Manchuria, a train with a very high military commander of the Japanese troops (it was not the commander-in-chief of the Japanese troops in the Far East but a general with a very high position, I believe) stopped beside our train and invited Vologodskii to come to see him.

Vologodskii returned and told us that the general had offered him to go to Vladivostok and to head there the local Russian government. But Vologodskii refused.

Later, when we arrived in Harbin, General Khorvat, who was the chief of the Chinese Eastern Railway for a long time and had a great prestige in China, offered to Vologodskii and other members of the Kolchak government to restore the government.

He invited all members of the government who were in Harbin at that time to visit him. During the supper he asked our opinion about the possibilities to restore the government at first in Harbin and later on in any other city in the Russian territory either under the same leadership or under another one.

But everybody beginning from Vologodskii on up to the last member refused to enter into such a government. We all refused. We did not believe more in any victory. If we even lost it in Siberia, what could we do from Vladivostok? And we felt that we certainly would be only puppets in the hands of a foreign government.

Raymond: You mean Japan?

Guins: Yes. But even if the United States had organized something, nobody, we were convinced, would work in the interests of Russia. The United States, as we understood her position earlier, tried to remain in the Far East to counteract possible aggressive intentions of the Japanese government and to prevent their occupation of Russian territory.

Raymond: May I conclude from your last information that you had no political plans at that time for the future?

Guins: No plans at all. I had no idea about what I will do and even where I will live. We arrived safely to Harbin. Yet I was very nervous. The future was absolutely dark.

Next time I will relate to you about the first days of our life on the territory of the concession which Russia received according to the special agreement with the Chinese government for building a railway through Manchuria to connect the Great Siberian Railway with Vladivostok.

PART IV. LIFE IN HARBIN 1920-1941

Raymond: Professor Guins! We begin today a new chapter of your life. You arrived as I understand on January, 1920. When did you leave Harbin?

Guins: I left it at the end of June, 1941. And the decision to leave was one which I took--or maybe it would be more correct to say I could only take--several months before I left for the United States. But let me start from the beginning.

Raymond: You mean since the first days of your life in Harbin?

Guins: Not literally the first days, but nevertheless from the beginning. During the first two months it became clear to me that in Harbin there were possibilities for living and earning.

I was very anxious about the future of my family. We continued to live in the railway car, because it was very difficult to find even a room. Harbin had been overcrowded. Immigrants arrived not only from the West, via Chita, but also from Vladivostok, Khabarovsk, and Blagoveshchensk.

The Immigrants

Raymond: What kind of people were among the immigrants?

Guins: Of whom did this "human flow," this great exodus consist? What kind of people were they? It is not so easy to answer. I have to remind you that when the front of Kolchak's on the river Irtysh was broken, the whole Siberian army began to retreat.

There was a famous campaign which had a special name in the history of the Russian Civil War, the so-called

Guins: "Ice March," or "ledianoï pokhod." I mention this campaign only because many people and soldiers, even those who were not soldiers but who took part in this march, reached Manchuria.

It is, for instance, of a great interest from my point of view that all of the workers of two factories of the pre-Ural region at the river Kama, the main tributary of the Volga River--the factories which were known as the "Izhevskii zavod" and the "Votkinskii zavod" or at least "Izhevtsy"--did not wish to stay and remain under the Soviet government. These workers were probably the most enthusiastic enemies of the Soviet regime.

On the river Sungari, close to Harbin, one factory was organized after their arrival, in which there were these workers. Among the emigres there were comparatively not so many people of the intellectual level. They were mostly of the middle and lower class, especially many soldiers and professionals of various kinds.

But there were also many people of higher cultural levels, and Harbin received and used them. Most of the people rapidly found a possibility to make a living even in their own professions--physicians and surgeons, attorneys, various kinds of engineers and those in art, and so forth.

The great artery, the Chinese Eastern Railway, was very quickly reorganized; many old employees left their positions and new people replaced them. Those who resigned or retired were sufficiently well secured by the pensions or capital they had received or collected earlier, and thus nobody suffered.

As a result, the life in Harbin, and the cultural life in particular I should say, began to flourish after a certain stagnation. Theaters, symphonic orchestras, music schools, and various kinds of educational institutions--among the institutions of higher learning the College of Law, the Polytechnic Institute, and later the Pedagogical Institute, the Institute of Oriental Languages, and two schools of dentistry--were organized.

For a while there were organized even courses of medicine. Not long ago, I met here an engineer who arrived from Harbin. He had a chance to apply his knowledge at first in Brazil and later in the United States.



Professor George C. Guins
upon retirement

Living Conditions

Guins: To give a more clear picture of the conditions of life for the increased Russian population during this period of immigration, I have to say that it was originally very difficult to find a place to live, especially for those who arrived during the winter.

The Harbin society was, however, very generous, and with the assistance of the railway, barracks were built in which the neediest people were housed. Among those were people who were able to do only manual work, which was probably the only means of existence of these people for the first time.

'Why did they leave Russia?' one may ask. Among the refugees were people who had lived in some of the Volga regions, the Urals, and cities of Siberia and who were already acquainted with the Communist regime and did not wish to live in Russia because of the peculiarities of the Communist regime and the very difficult living conditions which prevailed there at that time.

For instance, everything which was sold on the open market and in the shops disappeared very quickly, and it was therefore difficult to satisfy even the most primitive needs.

There were also people, like the workers of the Izhevskii zavod who preferred not to remain because they were not considered as proletarians. Later Cossacks left some parts of the Transbaikal region and inhabited parts of northern Manchuria--the region of the so-called "Three Rivers," where they continued their former way of life.

The conditions of life after the revolution forced people to look for better conditions of life.

Raymond: How many Russians came into Manchuria and Harbin at that time?

Guins: That is very difficult to say. I do not have exact data. I keep in mind a figure of 100,000 people of Russian origin in all cities and towns along the Chinese Eastern Railway from the northern frontier with Russia, the so-called Manchuria Station, up to Bogranichaid, the station on the

Guins: border of the Maritime Province. But the figure 100,000 is, maybe, not correct.

As regards additionally Harbin, there is in my memory a figure--40,000 people of Russian origin. It is then very possible that there were about thirty to forty thousand people in total in the region of the Chinese Eastern Railway before the 1920's. I am not able to say that with complete certainty.

I want to return to the housing problem. Harbin began to expand. There were some lands on the borders of the city which could be inhabited but which were still not occupied. No wonder that some people who arrived to Harbin began to build during the summertime some very primitive houses of clay or mud.

Raymond: Is that the district which was called "nakhalovka"?

Guins: Yes. The name was given because there were some people living there not only without permission, but even violating the prohibition to occupy land. "Nakhal" means an impudent man. In such a manner a new part of Harbin grew. And as soon as these people began to earn money, they replaced their original very primitive houses with more comfortable ones, and later new streets and a new part of the city appeared.

There arose also another part like that in Harbin called "Samanyi gorodok." Its name originates from "saman", the primitive materials (clay, mud, and straw) used for building these original houses in which people had to live.

This is an illustration that certainly the composition of immigration could not be characterized as only the intelligentsia or the middle class arriving, because there were very many poor people among the immigrants.

Not all "poor people" were from among peasants and workers. Once my wife noticed on the corner of the street in which we lived at that time an old exhausted man. She asked him if he needed food or anything. He only wanted something to drink.

He told her that his way of making a living was to pave the streets. But this was very difficult for a man of his age. He turned out to be a general. We were later

Guins: able to help the family of the general to improve their conditions of life, to achieve an education, etc.

That is an example that sometimes the people of the rank of intellectuals found it necessary to accept any sort of work. Like in Paris, where there were drivers who were in Russia officers of the army, there were coachmen and boatmen in Harbin. Some of the cavalry officers, for instance, were working with the horses of those who had acquired horses for racing.

However, as time went on, conditions improved for everybody in Harbin, and soon it was possible to find any kind of job one wanted.

Organization of Public Services

But how was the public life organized? For the first year, not longer than for a year, life went on as before. For example, there was a Russian post office and a Russian court, which officially had the name of a branch of the Vladivostok court because the Russian government had no right to organize its own court on Chinese territory.

But the existence was explained as an assignment for the judges of the Vladivostok court to come and try cases of Russian people. However, such a right was not stipulated. Russia had no right to establish on the concession territory its judiciary institutions.

The railway administration had organized also in Harbin the Russian police. The Chinese administration considered it also as an institution violating the Chinese sovereignty.

Finally, there was an armed military force, which was organized by the Russian government for the protection of the railway and the Russian population of the territory received under the conditions of the concession for the railway, its shops, depots, warehouses, and all kinds of subsidiary enterprises.

After the Russian Revolution and the defeat of the anti-Communist army, China decided to replace all these Russian institutions with her own. First of all the Russian post

Guins: offices were closed, and Chinese postmasters and employees were appointed. Some Russian employees were invited to stay for serving operations which required the knowledge of the Russian language.

Later, probably at the end of 1920 or in 1921, the Russian court was replaced with the Chinese. The chairman of the Russian court, V. A. Skvortsov, was invited to continue his service in the position of counselor at the Chinese court.

The extraterritorial rights of the Russian subjects ceased to be recognized by China, and they started thus to abrogate extraterritorial rights in China. Russian citizens could not protest not only because such a privilege as the existence of extraterritorial rights was considered by the Chinese as an offense, but also because the Russian Empire ceased to exist, and Russians themselves did not recognize the new government and its laws.

Raymond: Russian influence was thus in the stage of decay?

Guins: Administrative influence yes, but not a cultural and economic influence. The presence of professors helped to organize the new institutions of higher learning and lectures in the clubs--the railway club in the so-called "New Town Harbin", and the commercial club in the so-called "pristan" (landing pier) in the lower part of the city, which was mostly commercial, being close to the river port, the stores of various kinds of goods, and the Chinese city Fudiadian.

Two new newspapers started to be published in Harbin almost within a month after the arrival of the first train from the West. The first was the newspaper Zaria (Dawn), which was organized by a very experienced newspaperman, Zembich Vostrotin.

He had a lot of experience as a contributor, as an editor, and he knew how to secure the economic success of the newspaper, its circulation. Not everything might be approved by the appraisers of good morals, for instance different kinds of gossip about individuals, but Zembich did not neglect such kind of materials. However, it became a well-informed paper with good circulation.

Guins: He also succeeded to organize later a newspaper in Shanghai, and he sent one of his employees to San Francisco. The latter became the owner of a newspaper which was organized by him here.

Raymond: Also called Zaria?

Guins: Novaia Zaria, The New Dawn. Among the emigres in Harbin there were many people with good initiative and good experience besides the intellectuals, for instance the businessmen and tradesmen who formed and developed new enterprises in various parts of the city.

The whole economic life of the country step by step was developed successfully in the interest of the local population--the Chinese first of all, and then of the Russian people who had lived in Manchuria since the beginning of the operations of the new railway, and certainly of the emigres themselves.

The Chinese Eastern Railway

Raymond: How about the Chinese Eastern Railway?

Guins: The Chinese Eastern Railway was the great artery of the country, and the development of northern Manchuria depended heavily on the development of the Chinese Eastern Railway. I am speaking only about northern Manchuria because southern Manchuria came under the control of Japan after the end of the Russian-Japanese War under the conditions of the Portsmouth peace agreement.

Exploitation of the Chinese Eastern Railway, after the new administration of this railway was organized in Peking, became very successful. But for that purpose it was necessary to restore the normal activity of the railway.

After the period of the Civil War, during which the transportation of commercial goods almost did not exist, the finances of this railway proved to be in very bad

Guins: condition. And the only organization which could support the Chinese Eastern Railway was the Russian Asiatic Bank. After the end of the Civil War in Siberia, or maybe after the revolution, I don't know exactly, on the building of the Russian Asiatic Bank appeared a French flag.

The Bank could therefore protect its so-called extraterritoriality. It would, however, be not correct to say that the Russian Asiatic Bank was a French bank. The Russian Asiatic Bank had its filials in various parts of Siberia, in Mongolia, and even in Turkestan, where there were large shareholder companies and concerns.

But after the end of the Civil War, there remained only the filials of the bank on the territory of China and Manchuria which the board of directors could control. Then some shareholders organized a meeting in Peking and decided to include into the board several Frenchmen to give an appearance of the French directorship of the bank and gain the right to use the flag with permission certainly of the French consulate.

Anyhow, this directorship was recognized as a private enterprise which had the right to change its directorship as it saw fit. The directors were recognized by the Chinese government, and it was agreed with the government to mutually administer the Chinese Eastern Railway.

Raymond: Let me ask you this, Professor Guins. Did the Russian Asiatic Bank legally own the Chinese Eastern Railroad?

Guins: No.

Raymond: Who owned the Chinese Eastern Railroad?

Guins: There was a special board in St. Petersburg, and its administration consisted of two different bodies. One in St. Petersburg completely depended on the Russian Ministry of Finance, because it was the Russian government which invested money for the building of the railroad. So from the legal point of view, it was the board of directors which represented the Chinese Eastern Railway Company, but in fact it was certainly the Russian government.

But as much as I know, the Chinese Eastern Railway was built with financial support of French capital.

Raymond: What did the Russian Asiatic Bank have to do with the railroad?

Guins: Some members of the board who were abroad probably gave or sent to the bank a document in which they transferred their rights to the board of the bank which should be organized abroad. Thus, the board of the Russian Asiatic Bank became a kind of successor of the board, perhaps a temporary successor.

Probably Stakheev's company played a great role because nobody had any doubt that Stakheev's capital was invested in different branches of this bank and played a great role in the operations of the bank. Later on I'll talk about the shares of this bank, but now I want to return to the moment when it was necessary to decide who will administer the Chinese Eastern Railway.

The Russian Asiatic Bank appeared as a body which had some legal claims to pretend on the administration of the Chinese Eastern Railway. Nobody tried at that time to analyze how legally this operation was committed and acknowledged the Russian Asiatic Bank as a successor to the shareholders of the company.

The Russian Asiatic Bank had contact with the Peking government, and they reached a compromise. Since the board of directors in St. Petersburg ceased to exist, it became necessary to organize a new one.

It was agreed also that in this board the Chinese Peking government and the Russian Asiatic Bank will be represented on an equal basis. Further, that the president of the railway board and two members of the board will be Chinese citizens. The other members, among whom would be the Deputy Chairman of the railway, would be Russians and would be recommended by the Bank.

The Chinese Government in Peking

Raymond: When you say the Peking government, do you mean the government of Marshal Chang Tso Lin?

Guins: No. The Chinese Republic consisted of different governor-generalships headed by the Governor-generals, or, as we usually called them, marshals or war lords. They were actual administrators and sovereigns, each in his own region.

Guins: But anyhow, the Chinese government in Peking represented the nation as a whole in foreign affairs, and all of the ambassadors were in Peking and presented their credentials to the Peking government. The central government existed and had its own sources of finance, and thus all significant problems relating to China as a nation were decided and discussed in Peking.

But certainly it was not enough to reach such an agreement in Peking, insofar as the realization of this agreement had to be on the territory under the control of Marshal Chang Tso Lin in Mukden. There were then secondary negotiations in Mukden, and Chang Tso Lin approved the agreement under the conditions that some members of the board would be recommended by him. So there was again a kind of compromise between Peking and Mukden.

Raymond: Was that in 1920?

Guins: It was very soon but perhaps not earlier than during the summer of 1921. I cannot say exactly. It was decided then by the new board of directors to invite engineer Ostroumov, who was at that time somewhere else, maybe even in the United States. But he was informed and arrived very quickly.

Raymond: Yes, I think he was in the United States. He had been sent by the Soviet government to purchase some railway rolling stock, and he was on his way through Paris to the United States.

Guins: I don't think that he was sent by the Soviet government. I met engineer Ostroumov in Omsk. He visited me there in my house, and he asked me about the attitude of the government in Omsk towards the building of the South Siberian Railway.

I told him that I was very glad to see him there and that I knew all about this railway, because this project had a close connection with the administration for the resettlement of peasants in Siberia whose further development depended on the success of the projected South Siberian Railway.

But later it became quite clear that the Omsk government was not able to help in the building of this railway, and engineer Ostroumov disappeared from the Omsk horizon--where to I did not know.

Guins: And then I met him again in the office of the Chinese Eastern Railway in the corridor. He recognized me and said, "Mr. Guins, do you remember me? I had a conversation with you." So, as I understand it, engineer Ostroumov arrived to Harbin very quickly. He accepted the offer to be the chief manager of the Chinese Eastern Railway.

From the first day of his appearance at the office, there was reorganization of the railway staff from the central administration at Harbin up to the last station on the railway lines.

Raymond: Who was general manager before him?

Guins: Before him was Mr. Lachinov.

Raymond: Not General Khorvat?

Guins: Certainly General Khorvat. But I forgot to say that soon after the described changes in Manchuria, General Khorvat was invited by the Chinese government to come to Peking. And the Chinese did not let him return to Harbin.

The Chinese government decided to separate him from the Chinese Eastern Railway and to paralyze his influence and, perhaps, connections for the time when the Chinese government would negotiate with the Russian Asiatic Bank.

Raymond: When you say soon after the changes in Harbin, do you mean soon after the Russian Asiatic Bank took over the railroad?

Guins: No, I had in mind the beginning of the administrative changes. That was perhaps in the middle of 1920. Lachinov then replaced Khorvat.

Raymond: For a few months?

Guins: Maybe for one year. I remember my visit with Lachinov. I had some questions concerning the railway when he was still at the office of the Chinese Eastern Railway, and he received me in the cabinet which later was occupied by Ostroumov. This gives me the right to consider Lachinov as the predecessor of Ostroumov, though only for a short time.

Raymond: You had also a position on the Chinese Eastern Railway, didn't you?

Guins: That is right. But I wanted at first to characterize the situation in Harbin and on the railway in general. And now--my own experience.

Formation of the Harbin College of Law

As I told you, I understood in a short time that it was possible to arrange satisfactory conditions of life in Harbin. Together with me arrived in Harbin Professor Ustrialov. He succeeded to meet some influential persons in the city who were interested in the possibility to organize in Harbin an institution of higher learning.

Since 1917, the children of the employees and other inhabitants of Harbin could not enroll into the Russian universities and colleges. Some of the schools were closed, and the transportation was not secured.

At the beginning of 1920, it became possible to organize the School of Law in Harbin, and in March we started to teach. The history of the organization and development of the College of Law in Harbin was written by N. P. Avtonomov and published in the twelfth volume of the Izvestiia of Juridicheskogo Faculteta.

We had 98 students of both sexes. Some time later a Russian newspaper was organized, and I began to contribute to it. I had then two sources of income.

Siberia, Allies and Kolchak Written

I also used free time for writing a book in Russian which later was published under the title Siberia, Allies and Kolchak. Fortunately I succeeded to keep many valuable materials--collection of laws, etc.--and my book was well documented.

When my wife was leaving Omsk for Chita we both did not hope to return. She took our not very numerous belongings and valuable things which I bought or received in

Guins: Ekaterinburg, and, what proved to be the most valuable, my archive, the local newspapers of the period of 1918 to 1920, and other documents of historical significance.

Having these materials I succeeded to write my book, which was praised even by the people from another camp. I wrote about the Czechs not favorable, but some of the Czechs, Dr. V. Vondrak, for example, and his friend Mr. Kalina told me that my book deserved to be translated and re-edited.

Dr. Vondrak told me that he asked about some events of the time of the Siberian movement of a certain Kalashnikov, a captain who originally was a leader of the anti-Communist movement in Siberia but later, when the Siberian government was reorganized, was disappointed with its personal composition and joined the opposition.

Kalashnikov told to Mr. Vondrak, "Read Guins's book. I cannot add something else. Guins described everything as it really was." I could not expect any better recommendation as such an assertion from the side of a political opponent.

In 1921, my book was published by the "Society for the Restoration of Russia," whose chairman was N. V. Borzov, director of two commercial schools--one for boys and the other for girls. I knew him already as the founder of our College of Law, which was arranged for the evening hours in the building of one of the commercial schools.

On the Board of Directors of the Chinese Eastern Railway

In August, 1921, I took part in the excursion to Japan, and when I returned a surprise was prepared for me. I was offered a position on the board of directors of the Chinese Eastern Railway. It would be my third and most important source of revenue.

Raymond: As much as I know, such a board existed in Petrograd, didn't it?

Guins: The new board of directors of the Chinese Eastern Railway was organized in conformity with the agreement concluded

Guins: between the Russian Asiatic Bank and the Chinese government. The chairman of the board was appointed by Peking. He was an old Chinese general, very respectable, a real Chinese aristocrat. His main function had been to defend the Chinese interests, and he did not interfere in the administrative functions of the railway.

The vice-president was engineer Danilevskii. All institutions of the board: its chancellery, the technical, financial, and commercial departments, were subject to the vice-president, as the Russian language was used in all railway institutions. In conformity with that fact, the vice-president had been the more active person in the board of directors.

As to the chancellery, it had been the more active institution of the board because the correspondence concerning all main problems passed through the chancellery, and it prepared and fulfilled all the minutes of the meetings of the board and formulated all its decisions, except purely technical ones.

To the chancellery was attached a staff of interpreters and translators from Chinese into Russian and vice versa.

Guins Becomes Chief of Chancellery

Raymond: What kind of position was offered to you? Probably the position of the chief of chancellery.

Guins: You have guessed. When it became known, one of my new friends in Harbin who was familiar with the structure of the board's staff welcomed me on the street and told me, "You are secured at present for your whole life." He did not understand yet what epoch it was.

I received soon still a still more high and responsible position, but I was secured for only four and one half years.

Raymond: Why had you doubts about the durability of your new position?

Guins: If my position with the Russian government in the capital was so soon lost, how could I believe in the durability of the position which existed on the concession of the former Russian empire?

Raymond: Was it not necessary to be prepared for a position in a railway enterprise?

Guins: As you know already, a certain preparation was necessary even for working with the board of directors of a Siberian cooperative. The vice-president, Danilevskii, offered to me to visit for a certain period the office of the Chinese Eastern Railway where Ostroumov reigned.

One week of such visits proved to be sufficient for general acquaintance with the structure of the office of the manager. The structure was sufficiently complex, but it was not so difficult to understand it and the functions of all the departments and sections.

I attended besides the meetings of the council of the administration, which was presided over by the assistant director of the railway and whose members were all the chiefs of the office departments. These visits were very instructive.

The council discussed the problems which Ostroumov had no right to decide. The decisions of the council had to be approved by the board of directors of the Chinese Eastern Railway. When I assumed my new post, I received from the office of the manager the papers with the content of which I was already acquainted.

According to my experience, the most important for the chief of the chancellery was not the knowledge of the railway economy and needs, but the ability to get the confidence of both the Russian and the Chinese groups.

Raymond: Who was your predecessor, and why was he replaced?

Guins: My predecessor was General Kolobov. He was very close to Khorvat, and therefore neither the Chinese chairman nor Danilevskii wanted to leave him in such a responsible position. As to me, I did not belong to any group and had the necessary administrative experience.

Danilevskii was glad to have me. And I succeeded to establish also good relations with the Chinese group.

Raymond: How did you succeed in fulfilling your new duties?

Guins: I think that it will be better if I will try to explain what kind of interrelations existed at that time between various higher institutions and their heads. At first,

- Guins: some words about the president of the board of directors, General Sung Siao Lian. I had a pleasure to be his guest in Peking together with some other personages in the railway administration. He was a poet, very cultured, polite, respectable, with the education and habits of the imperial period--a kind of mandarin.
- Raymond: Was he interested in the problems of the railway management, or did he let the Russian members of the board and the general manager, Ostroumov, run the railroad?
- Guins: He did not interfere. But he appointed several Chinese who spoke Russian to various posts that let them be informed on everything that was going on and being undertaken by the Russians.

I had, for example, an assistant, Go Fumian, and several Chinese as translators who worked under the control of Go Fumian. It is probable that the president, Sung, discussed some problems which related to the interests of China directly with Danilevskii.

As far as the management of the railway was concerned, I may say that neither Chinese nor Russian members of the board interfered with the activities of engineer Ostroumov. It seems that he had accepted the position of manager on the conditions that he would be empowered to change personnel if it would be necessary and to carry out some reforms and reorganizations.

There were many engineers among the refugees who had good experience and were still full of energy, and Ostroumov began to change the personnel and did it very successfully. I am not an expert for appraising capabilities and the initiative of Ostroumov, but I had a chance to be acquainted with the achievements of the railway during his management.

Promotion to Chief Controller

I had that chance because since January 1, 1923, only one year after my appointment to the position of the chief of the office of the chancellery of the board of directors, I received a promotion to the post of the chief controller of the railway.

- Raymond: How did it occur?

Guins: Among the members of the staff of the Chinese Eastern Railway there were not a few old people who could get a good pension and leave for another country or end their life being independent and free from duties. The chief controller, Mescherskii, my predecessor, was such a man.

The position of the chief controller was very responsible, and the board of directors preferred to offer it to me. I do not know exactly who offered my candidacy or who else was the candidate. Danilevskii was quite satisfied with my activity as the chief of the office of the board of directors.

Among the members of the board there was L. V. Hoyer, who occupied a conspicuous position in the administration of the Russian Asiatic Bank. In 1919 he was Minister of Finance of the government of Kolchak.

It was during approximately six months before the fall of the Kolchak government. He thus knew me quite well and we were very friendly. I can suppose that either Danilevskii or Hoyer proposed my candidacy.

But it was most important to have the support of both the Chinese and the Russian groups. Evidently the Chinese group approved my candidacy if not proposing it. Why? I do not know; I can only guess.

One must not underestimate diplomatic capacities of the Chinese and the intelligence of their rulers in Peking. They understood very well that the situation after the end of World War I, in spite of the Versailles Treaty, remained not quite stable.

In particular, it was not known what will happen in Russia. Japan pretended to some part of the Russian Far Eastern territory. China could pretend to the Chinese Eastern Railway. There was in 1921 or 1922--I do not remember exactly--a conference in Washington, D. C., which tried to find a temporary solution.

The U. S. did not wish the strengthening of Japan and tried to preserve the status quo ante. The Chinese tried to prevent such changes which could complicate the situation and they preferred such people among the Russians in whom they could have more confidence.

Having such an idea, I tried to be so friendly with my assistants, the Chinese, as it only was possible. I informed them about all problems which arose, and they

Guins: informed, in turn, the president of the board. As I have told you, my assistant, Mr. Go, was a very intelligent and modest man. It was a pleasure to cooperate with him.

Soon another Chinese man appeared in the chancellery, Mr. Liu Tse Zhun. He arrived from Russia, where his father organized a tea plantation, Chakva, near Batum. His son was educated in Russia, graduated from the Russian university, and was speaking Russian as a native Russian.

We became very friendly with him. Both Go and Liu visited my family during the great Russian holidays, the Easter holiday and the New Year reception.

At the end of 1922, General Sun resigned and was replaced by Mr. Vang, who was much younger, spoke English, and had a European education. He had no time to become personally acquainted with the Russian staff, but recommendations of General Sun and of my close assistants could have significance. As a result, the Chinese supported my candidacy.

I accepted the offered position of the chief controller, as it was more interesting although it was at the same time more responsible. I decided to act like Ostroumov did and to invite many new co-workers. I did it and my staff became completely reorganized and composed of very competent people.

A More Efficient Railway

Let me now inform you about Ostroumov as the manager of the Chinese Eastern Railway. I should say that I did not know many managers of the railways, yet I cannot imagine another man of such energy and equally able as engineer and administrator.

During a short time the light rails were replaced with heavy rails and it became possible to increase transportation transferring goods in very long and very heavy trains with heavy locomotives. Several stations were rebuilt and new stores were added step by step for the acceptance and expedition of trains.

Guins: And, what was most important, many stations were supplied with double rails for the convenience of the crossing of trains. As a result the exploitation of the Chinese Eastern Railway became more intensive and more profitable.

The traffic was observed very exactly. It was possible to know at any given moment where every particular train would pass. Special consideration was given to bridges, and every bridge not sufficiently strong was strengthened.

Also, the additional or supplementary services received much attention. At several stations located on the banks of the rivers or in the picturesque highlands were organized summer resorts which attracted many people and intensified transportation of passengers who went for rests, fishing, hunting, and medical treating.

The economic problems were also in the center of attention. On the initiative of engineer Ostroumov, a special economic bureau was organized. It was a sort of research bureau.

Agents of this bureau had the assignment to go to various parts of Manchuria and study what kinds of goods might be attracted there for transportation by railway and what other kind of transportation could compete with the railroad, as, for example, transportation on the Chinese carts.

This kind of transportation was so cheap that many Chinese preferred to transport surpluses of beans by carts. It was therefore necessary either to change the transportation tariff or to organize convenient stores and open credit for the merchants and thus counterbalance the cheap cart transportation and convince the interested people that they will have more profit using railway services.

Achievements of the economic bureau proved to be very efficient, and several agencies of the Chinese Eastern Railway were organized in different cities outside the railway to attract goods, to establish connections with the business people, and to help also in the development of various kinds of industry.

From all points of view, the development of the railway was very successful. And from the controller's point of view, I can certify that its expenses were very economical, and its profits began to climb.

The Profit System

Raymond: Who received these profits?

Guins: The board of directors. And it began to divide these profits only after the arrival of the Soviet administration, after the agreement between the Chinese and Soviet governments.

There were various kinds of enterprises of the railway which demanded investment of new capital, and some parts of the profits were invested in organization of new enterprises to thus still more increase the profits.

It was also possible that a half of the profit was given to the Soviet government and the other to the Chinese government, partly to Peking and partly to Mukden. But this was out of my control, because the profits were at the disposal of the board of directors.

Speaking about the profits of the railway, I cannot bypass an interesting question in which accidentally the ambassador of the U. S. was involved. It was the question concerning the exploitation of lands which were included into the strip of the concession.

When the city of Harbin began to grow and attract tradesmen and industrialists, the administration of the Chinese Eastern Railway was selling various lots to the private persons for building houses and commercial or industrial enterprises. This had been undoubtedly quite expedient, but not indisputable from the legal point of view.

When the problem of the concession was discussed it was hardly provided that certain plots of land will be sold to private persons rather than used for the needs of the railway and its employees. Anyhow, it was not specified in the conditions of the concession.

Chinese administration decided that such kind of exploitation of lands exceeded the rights of the administration of the railway and decided one-sidedly to separate the land administration from the railway. Then the Russian group protested and tried to find support from the foreign

Guins: countries interested in the economic development of Manchuria.

For that purpose the ambassador of the U. S. was invited to Harbin. During the banquet organized in his honor with the participation of all members of the board of directors of the Chinese Eastern Railway as well as the highest employees of the railway, the representatives of the Chinese administration including General Chiang Huang Sian, the ambassador delivered a speech and reproached the Chinese administration for violating the conditions of the Russian concession by depriving the railroad administration of its right to exploit the lands of the railway.

The ambassador had the right to defend the interests of the American citizens and enterprises which rented the lands for their houses and enterprises, but the earlier acquired rights of those persons and companies did not suffer at all. Their rights were recognized as durable up to the end of the term of the concession.

What was changed was only the disposal of lands by the railway for the future time. All those who attended the banquet, at least according to my impression, found the speech of the ambassador tactless but accused mostly those who invited him instead of discussing the problem with the Chinese administration for finding a certain compromise--for example in the form of dividing the profit from such kind of exploitation of the lands.

The railway covered various kinds of expenses, improved the conditions of life, and the price of lands was consequently rising. There were various arguments which could be used for reaching a satisfactory compromise.

General Chiang Huang Sian answered the ambassador in a very brusque manner and afterwards there remained no practical way for another solution to the problem.

There was also another act which passed, however, without any kind of interference--namely the separation of the river Sungary fleet from the railway. This was also not without legal basis, because the concession did not foresee the right of the railway to have its own fleet on the river.

Raymond: Do you know anything about the distribution of the railway profits?

Guins: What I do know is that after the arrival of the Soviets in October, 1924 and in 1926 when I was still controller up to May, there was no division of the profits known to me. But

Guins: later, being not controller any more, I knew that the profit was divided into two parts: one part was given to the Chinese, the other to the Soviet government.

Chinese-Soviet Negotiations

Now I want to say something about the new events. The period of this quiet and prosperous life in Manchuria for the refugees and for the employees of the railway was not very durable.

There were negotiations between the Chinese and the Soviet governments. First, the Chinese government sent its representative, Mr. Li Tia-o to Moscow to get through him information on how strong the Soviet government was and what its intentions were.

When Li Tia-o was about to leave Manchuria, he asked my opinion about how strong the Soviet government was. I tried to convince him that he should be very careful because there were still forces sufficiently strong which could organize an uprising and overthrow the Soviet government.

But after Li Tia-o returned from Peking, he was already convinced that the Soviet government was sufficiently strong and that it would be advantageous, if not necessary, to negotiate with it. And the negotiations started.

The first representative of the Soviet government was a Mr. Yoffe.

Raymond: Adolf Yoffe.

Guins: Yes. I was in Peking, probably in 1923, when there was a meeting of the so-called shareholders of the Chinese Eastern Railway. At that time the Russian Asiatic Bank still pretended that all shares were in St. Petersburg at the disposal of the main board of the Russian Asiatic Bank in St. Petersburg and therefore that the Russian Asiatic Bank in China could dispose of its shares.

During the meeting of the shareholders some of the shareholders appeared. They were the employees of the Peking branch of the Russian Asiatic Bank, which received from the Bank a certificate that they possessed so-and-so many shares

Guins: of the Chinese Eastern Railway and presented them to the chairman of the meeting. These "shareholders" represented the Russian part.

The Chinese government sent its own representatives who usually were the Chinese members of the board of directors. In this meeting in Peking, various kinds of problems of significance were discussed. Some of them were the problems of personnel of the board--for instance whether it was necessary to change some of them or not.

There was a new director of the board recommended by the Chinese government. And the problem of the chief of the railway, since this sort of a problem existed, was discussed.

One of the Russian entrepreneurs in Manchuria, Mr. Skidelskii, had very close commercial relations with the Chinese Eastern Railway, as he possessed coal mine concessions and forest concessions from which he supplied the railway with raw materials.

Every time when there was a meeting of the shareholders he used to arrive to Peking for getting information about what had been decided during the meeting. He had a good friend among the Chinese members of the board and was thus very well-informed about everything.

He told me that the meeting of the shareholders of the Chinese Eastern Railway in 1923 was the last one. "Why?" I asked him. He knew from the government sources in Peking that Chinese negotiations with the Soviet government were developing successfully and that soon would be unnecessary all meetings of shareholders. Problems would be decided by the representatives of the Chinese and Soviet governments.

This prediction proved to be correct. However, besides the agreement between the Chinese government in Peking and the Soviet representative Karakhan, the ambassador of the Soviet government, it was still necessary to get approval of the Marshal Chiang Tso Lin, the Mukden warlord. Because of that, negotiations with the Soviets continued for almost one year more.

Raymond: You mean Marshal Chiang Tso Lin was not very eager to make an agreement?

Guins: Maybe. He could be afraid of Soviet influence in Manchuria and, probably, wanted to have some guarantee that the arrival of the Soviet representatives to Harbin would not be followed by Soviet troops. He had to secure his military control and various kinds of prerogatives of administrative character.

Reorganization of the Board

Although we knew that negotiations were being held and that they advanced, it was still unexpected when we were informed in October, 1924, that there will be a meeting of the new board of directors which will already consist of the Soviet members of the board and the Chinese board.

This day was a sorrowful day for a great number of the railway employees. Even for engineer Ostroumov it was almost unexpected. I know that Danilevskii attended the last meeting in Mukden, and when he arrived from Mukden Ostroumov met him at the station and asked him what happened. Danilevskii did not answer him but with the gesture of his hands indicated that something very significant had happened.

Arrests

The same day, perhaps at the same hour, there was a meeting of the board of directors in its new composition, and we were soon informed that Ostroumov was dismissed and that he was arrested. Next, information followed about the dismissal of Gondatti.

Just at the time when I began to receive these news, into my office entered N. L. Gondatti. "Do you know what happened?" he asked me.

Raymond: Who was Gondatti?

Guins: He was the former governor-general of the Priamurskii region (Priamurskaia oblast'), a very high position in the Far East. After the revolution he was invited by engineer Ostroumov to head the land department of the railway.

Guins: This department disposed of lands which still were not occupied by the railway itself and its buildings, and some of the lands which might be sold to private persons in the cities, and also concessions under the administration of the land department.

Gondatti asked me whether I knew anything. I told him that there is a person on the premise of the board of directors who informed me from time to time.

Raymond: You mean a Soviet representative would inform you?

Guins: No. It was one of the Russian employees from the office of the board of directors. He got information either from the Chinese or from those Russians who were present at the meeting. Every decision was followed by the corresponding order.

For example, if a certain chief of one or the other department of the railway was replaced, the order was given to the railway at the same time and a new person was nominated in his place. Such was an established order, which I knew as a former chief of the office of the board of directors.

I told to Gondatti that many persons had been already dismissed and that new people will arrive very soon to assume their duties. I did not tell to Gondatti that I was already informed that he, too, was already dismissed. But when he returned downstairs to his own office he probably was informed about his dismissal. He left the office and was later arrested at his home.

Raymond: Were Ostroumov and Gondatti arrested by Chinese authorities?

Guins: Yes. Only two persons were arrested, engineer Ostroumov and Gondatti. They were confined in jail. I received later permission to visit them by saying that both were my friends. I saw that both had comfortable rooms. They were not in the jail cells.

In the prison there were administrative rooms, which became the places of the seclusion of Ostroumov and Gondatti, each one in different rooms, having no communication with each other. They were indicted by the Soviet representatives in some illegal actions, but the court had to decide if there were sufficient evidences for the incrimination.

Guins: It was very disagreeable to know (I do not say for myself only) that both Ostroumov and Dondatti were delivered to the court in the special car for delivering usually to the court the persons suspected in committing criminal acts. And for several months they both were interrogated by the judges about their activities and about various kinds of suspected misdemeanors.

When I met once the chief of the highest Court of Appeal (second instance) with whom I was acquainted and asked him why Ostroumov and Gondatti were still in seclusion, he told me that the Chinese did not want to release them because it was very well known that the Soviet government wanted to deport them to the Soviet Union.

Raymond: This was a Chinese judge who told you that?

Guins: Yes. I visited at once the former wife of Ostroumov (at that time she was still not divorced) and told her what I heard from the judge supposing that she could inform her husband. Several months later, or maybe one month later, Ostroumov and Gondatti were released.

In April or May of 1926, there was a conflict between the Soviet administration of the railway and Marshal Chiang Tso Lin. The marshal decided that he will be well secured only having in his hands control over the Peking government.

Another governor-general supported the Peking government. Because of that an armed conflict took place between the two marshals. Chiang needed fresh troops from Manchuria. But the Soviet chief of the railway, Mr. Ivanov, gave an order not to let the military trains move.

Then Chiang Tso Lin ordered to arrest Ivanov and his assistant and demanded the departure of the Soviet members of the board of the railway from Manchuria. It was a very dangerous moment, because there was a possibility that an armed conflict might erupt between the Soviet Union and Chiang Tso Lin.

But Chiang Tso Lin did not wish such a conflict. I don't remember the details of these events, but there were no military conflicts. It was decided that a kind of compromise could be found. After negotiations in Mukden, new members of the board of the railway were nominated by both sides. It was decided also that the chief of the

Guins: railway would have a Chinese assistant, also an engineer, and thus there would be a cooperation between the Chinese and Soviet administrations.

The staff of the railway was changed, but on the principle of purity, the number of Chinese and Soviet members would be approximately the same.

Raymond: Before that, most of the staff of the railway was Russian?

Guins: Well, yes, the majority was Russian. Then it was also decided that the chief controller of the Chinese Eastern Railway would be a Chinese.

Guins's Special Position

Raymond: This was your post?

Guins: Yes. Up to that time, the Soviets wanted to have their own chief, and the Chinese did not want that.

Raymond: That is why you were not fired?

Guins: Of course. For both sides I was more acceptable than the Soviet controller for the Chinese or the Chinese controller for the Soviets. When it was decided that the chief controller would be Chinese, his assistant had to be a Soviet citizen. At that time I had to leave.

Raymond: Professor Guins, during this period from October, 1924 to May, 1926 when the manager of the railroad was a Soviet citizen and the Soviet representatives replaced the representatives of the Russian Asiatic Bank on the board of directors of the railway, why were you still working as chief controller? What were the attitudes of the Soviet manager to you and what was your relationship to them?

Guins: I have to explain that the chief controller was responsible to the council of auditors of the Chinese Eastern Railway which consisted of a Chinese chairman, two additional Chinese members, and only two Soviet representatives. Therefore the majority was Chinese.

Thus, the Russian chief controller could be independent from any Soviet influence from above. As to the administration of the railway, including the manager, it was under the control of the chief controller and his staff.

Raymond: And the Soviets could do nothing to you?

Guins: The Soviet manager was under my control, as I told you. I could not agree with his decisions or those of the administration. In these cases I presented my opinion to the council of auditors and they could, in turn, either concede or support my opinions in the board of directors.

Raymond: But you, yourself, could not prevent Ivanov's actions?

Guins: No. That was out of my competence as far as administrative acts were concerned. The chief controller could not interfere with the administrative functions of the manager, unless they could have negative economic consequences, or unless they exceeded his authority and required approval of the board of directors.

There was such a case, but not at the time of Ivanov's management but Ostroumov's. Ostroumov wanted to pay a large amount to the entrepreneurs, but I did not consent and the payment was stopped. It had been an important omission of Ostroumov that he did not ask for my opinion in advance.

Raymond: Were your personal relations cordial with Ivanov? Or did you not talk to each other?

Guins: They were not cordial but quite urbane and cooperative. We met sometimes during his inspection trips on the railroad, for instance. The chief controller was always invited to accompany the manager to have a personal impression of what was good and what was wrong, what were the orders of the chief of the railway, etc. And there were also numerous banquets in which we all met--Chinese, Soviets, and emigres.

Raymond: You see, the obvious reason I am asking these questions is that I would like to know what kind of relations existed between those Soviets who were appointed to the railroad and such important members of the former anti-Communist government, like you. Was there a hostility?

Guins: You see, the political side did not play any role in Manchuria because it was not Russia. It was Chinese territory. And there were Russian interests and Chinese interests in Manchuria. It was very possible that the administration of the railway tried to do everything possible which might be useful to the Russians and not to the Chinese.

Raymond: Even though they were Soviets?

Guins: Of course. Because Russia remained Russia, but with another regime and name. The control was objective and supported everything that could be useful for the railway and consequently for both China and Russia.

I did not interfere also if a certain act had been approved by the board of directors. The latter consisted of the representatives of two governments, and if there were problems of great significance I had contact mostly with the assistant to the president of the board, Danilevskii.

Raymond: Was he replaced by a Soviet?

Guins: He was not replaced. He was a very competent engineer. He knew very well the needs of the railway, enjoyed the confidence of both sides, and remained for a long time even after the complete reorganization of the administration.

Well, as I told you, there was a conflict, and after this conflict the Chinese influence increased. But at the same time the emigre participation was abbreviated very essentially, because there was an order from the board of directors that only those could remain on the railway who accepted either Soviet citizenship or Chinese citizenship.

Raymond: Did you have a choice?

Guins: I declined to accept either one or the other.

Raymond: Why didn't you accept Chinese citizenship?

Guins: I did not wish to do that as a former politician who played a considerable role during the existence of the new government in Siberia, the Kolchak government. I found that it would not fit for me to become a citizen of another country for getting personal advantage, at the expense, probably, of my native country.

So I declined and declared that I would remain an emigre. And there were no consequences, because I was not subject to the board or the management, whose decision it was about citizenship. And the auditor's committee did not demand it.

Chinese members did not wish that I should take Soviet citizenship, and on the other hand they had no right to replace me with a Chinese. So there was again the same situation.

Articles Published

Guins: As chief of the control, I certainly had the possibility to make the acquaintance in practice with railway economy. But besides that I also studied the books on railway administration and exploitation which I found in the library of the railway club.

And therefore I was able to describe the activities of the Chinese Eastern Railway in an article which I published, as far as I remember, in the Manchurian Messenger, a Russian publication published by the railway.

I also published other articles in that publication, for instance about Japan, which I visited twice when I was not yet employed by the railway, during the summer of 1921; and later in 1925 when I was already chief controller, I published an article, "Japan Industrialized." It was published in Russian and in English.

Raymond: You also published an article on the history of the Chinese railroad when you were in the U. S., did you not Professor Guins?

Guins: I don't remember such an article about the history of the Chinese Eastern Railroad, but you mean, probably, the history of the Russian influence in Manchuria in connection with the three periods of the existence of the Chinese Eastern Railway.

The first was the period of Horvath, before the revolution; the second was the period of the prevalence of the Chinese; and the third was during the period of Manchukuo, the Japanese administration.

Raymond: This was in the Russian Review in 1942?

Guins: It was published in the Russian Review probably during the first or second year of the publication of this magazine. But the article was curtailed. The second part was excluded; it was only the old period and the last period.

Raymond: Was it not also published in the Russian newspaper "Russkaia Zhizn'"--"The Russian Life"--in San Francisco in 1942?

Guins: It was. Everything I told in that article about engineer Ostroumov was in favor of this man of great capacity, energy, and so forth, but there were among the Chinese some who, if not enemies, were people who were not kindly disposed toward him.

Maybe the main point which must be emphasized is that Ostroumov supported the initiative of the Russian Asiatic Bank, and behind the bank there were two Russian entrepreneurs who suggested the idea and wanted to realize it in Manchuria--the idea for the so-called elevators as storage for harvested beans.

The idea was certainly very sound, and everybody who exported beans could win using elevators.

Raymond: What do you mean, beans?

Guins: I mean soya beans, which were the main object of the export from northern Manchuria. The Chinese peasants, the main producers of beans who were in need of money, sold their crops soon after the harvest usually to the Chinese merchants, and received a very low price for them.

If the elevators would be built then it would be possible to raise the purchasing price for the producers and at the same time await the most profitable time for selling, the time of the highest prices for the beans to export them.

Under such conditions both sides would win. But who would lose? The middlemen, numerous Chinese merchants who exploited peasants, and certainly the Chinese administration, for instance the Marshal of Tsitsikar Province whose greatest source of his finances was a tribute paid by the merchants who shared their profits with him.

So it was a small wonder that the Chinese under the pressure of their marshals opposed with all their energy the project of building elevators. And the insistence of Ostroumov was his personal mistake because for realizing this idea he had at first to overcome the opposition.

We read once a letter from the governor-general of Tsitsikar Province which in its literal translation sounded like an anecdote. "I hope, Mr. President of the board of the railway," the Marshal wrote to the Chinese president of

Guins: the board, "that you will eradicate this idea for not letting people reserve their own opinions about this enterprise." Perhaps the English translation does not sound quite as ironical as it was translated into Russian: "Nadeius gospodjin predsiedatel' chto vg vyrvetealty idein s kornem, dobyne vznikalo nikakikh osabykh mnenii."

The second mistake of Ostroumov was his policy during the last year. He suspected that the Soviet government will succeed in its negotiations with the Chinese and that the new administration will arrive in Manchuria. He wanted to secure a position for himself, and, as we have some data to believe, he tried to prepare good relations with the Soviet side, at least with their representatives at the railroad.

The Chinese were probably informed about that. And therefore Marshal Chiang Tso Lin was not very kindly disposed toward Ostroumov.

And finally, just contrary to my policy, Ostroumov ignored his Chinese assistant. That was his third mistake. Ostroumov liked to concentrate everything in his own hands. He planned, ordered, instructed, reproached even his most close co-workers for any deviation from his requirements. Cooperation with the Chinese did not occupy his attention.

In the meantime, the Chinese planned to occupy step by step the controlling positions in the administration of the railway. Ostroumov's assistant, the Chinese engineer Mr. Shar, was not an arrogant man. He reconciled himself to his nominal function as assistant without any definite competence.

The Chinese replaced him with II I Chung, a young man who knew excellently the Russian language and could understand everything that Ostroumov ordered. It was a role of the observer.

The Soviet-Chinese decision concerning the condition of Soviet or Chinese citizenship for getting a position on the Chinese Eastern Railway anticipated the parity in the distribution of vacancies. It was possible to foresee the time when at least some of the departments would be administered by the Chinese and the Russians would be in the roles of the assistants. Such a correlation came into being in the control after my dismissal.

Soviet Objectives and Actions

Guins: As much as I could understand the plans of the Soviets after their agreement with the Peking and Mukden governments were primarily political. The Soviets did not show much interest in profits, but they were interested in strengthening their influence.

The new Soviet administration supported and even increased appropriations for various cultural needs and educational institutions. They did not spare money for improving architecture, and some new stations were built with certain Chinese elements in their construction and decorations. The Oriental character of architecture was easily discerned. It was the same in the newly built schools.

Banquets were organized more often and always with a rich meal, great variety of excellent wines, and entertainments--ballet numbers and a good musical program. In the meantime some Chinese were seduced and became informants, others political allies, and others participants in conspiracies.

The Soviet administration had some secret leaders in Harbin. Nobody knew to whom the chiefs of the railway's organizations had to address for reaching a final decision. Once, when I had to present my budget plan, I was informed by the chairman of the auditor's committee that the Soviet members of the committee wanted to diminish considerably the number of the controllers and, consequently, the appropriations for the next year.

I was invited for defending my project but was warned that it hardly would be successful. The chairman of the committee would not object against the economy in expenses as far as it concerned the Russian employees.

I arrived and presented a calculation based on the experience of many railroads and for many years, indicating the normal correlation between the expenses of the railway and expenses for the controlling apparatus. The Soviet members of the auditor's committee wanted to check my calculations in various manners.

They offered me to estimate the budget of the control for some years of the past without seeing it. They chose

Guins: arbitrarily several years of the past, demanded from the employees of the auditor's committee information on what was then the general budget of the railway, and I had to say what was then the appropriation for the control.

My calculations and answers proved to be almost exactly correct. Then the Soviet auditors declared that they will not insist on the diminishing of the control budget. I returned to my office as a winner in a difficult match.

Next day the chairman, Mr. Cheng Khan, invited me to come to see him. When I arrived, he asked, "What happened? Why did they change their decision?" They had informed him that their previous decision was final.

I could not believe myself that my mathematical experiments based on the theoretical formula which I borrowed from a guidebook for railway managers were so convincing.

If, for example, I were asked whether my calculations were correct also for the Japanese railroads, I should say, "No!" I knew that the system of control in Japan was based on the presumption of the reliability of railway officers and consisted of periodical revisions and not of a special controlling apparatus.

When I left the office room of the chairman, one of the Soviet members of the auditor's committee who was passing at that time in the corridor saw me and said, "Don't think that you convinced us. We had a consultation yesterday with a certain person and decided to reconsider our decision."

I never knew who was that "certain person", but I was informed that behind the curtain there were stage managers not known to the spectators but powerful chiefs and leaders nevertheless. In the consulates, for example, such a person could be a man formally quite dependable.

Such a "certain person" could order to the chief of the railway to stop movement of trains with troops, and the chief of the railway had to obey. Such an occasion occurred soon in reality.

Raymond: It would be very interesting if you could give an example of such kind of decisions which had a purely political character.

The Harbin Municipal Government

Guins: Well, I think that I can give you such an example. I did not mention that besides my official position on the railway and academic activity as a teacher at the College of Law, I occupied also an honorary position as the chairman of the meetings of the supervisors of the city of Harbin.

Raymond: Was it a kind of municipal self-government?

Guins: Yes! Harbin, as a main city on the territory of the railway concession, developed very quickly. Besides purely railway institutions and a large area occupied by the houses built for the railway employees, there were opened private trade companies, both Russian and Chinese, and very soon some foreign enterprises for export and import.

The first foreign enterprises were British. In connection with the influx of population, the railway administration decided to organize a municipal self-government consisting of the representatives of the railway and also of citizens interested in the city welfare and ready to share expenses for securing sanitary conditions, cleanliness of streets, convenient transportation, public gardens, etc.

The British consulate expressed its wish to take part in such an organization. As a result, the Russian-British agreement was concluded in 1907, as much as I remember, in conformity with which the municipal self-government was established, representing the railway administration, the Chamber of Commerce, and the population.

Every national minority was given the right to assign representatives to attend with the right of deciding votes in the municipal assembly. The majority of the population of Harbin was Russian. Even Chinese were in the minority.

Besides Harbin there was a big Chinese city, Fu Tsia Tiang, and Chinese preferred to live there in their habitual atmosphere, having there their hotels, restaurants, markets, and all kinds of shops and artisans.

Guins: In 1924 to 1926, the time about which we are speaking, among the members of the Harbin municipal assembly there were besides Russians, Chinese, and British citizens, also Japanese. The chairman of the meetings, which I called "meetings of the supervisors", was elected by the members of the meetings and could be reelected or replaced by their voting.

The city government consisted of the major, several members of the city council, and several special committees: financial, welfare, etc. The major and members of the council were elected by the meeting of the representatives, for a certain period after the expiration of which the representatives and consequently the members of the councils could be replaced.

Let me return now to the story which I began to relate. There was a kind of custom in Harbin to meet at the first day of every new year in the Commercial Club for mutual welcoming and exchange of good wishes. Besides the business people, the Commercial Club invited for the new year banquet representatives of the railway administration and municipality. I was present as a representative of the city government.

Raymond: About what year are you speaking?

Guins: It was January 1, 1926. Beside me sat one of the Soviet members of the board of the Chinese Eastern Railway, General Hekker. He asked me what I thought about the Harbin municipality, having in mind the coming year.

I told him that I was surprised, having nothing in mind that could be new and that I presumed everything would go on as it was. He remarked only that the Soviet representatives were informed that the Chinese government intended to reorganize the municipality. After this banquet there was another one which was organized by the city government.

Raymond: Was this the Russian or the Chinese city government?

Guins: At that time only the Russian city government existed, but with the participation, as I just explained, of the representatives of other national minorities.

The Chinese Extend their Control

Guins: Among the representatives of the administration who appeared unexpectedly at that modest new year banquet was General Chang Huan Siang, who at that time had occupied the highest post on the territory of the Chinese Eastern Railway concession, i.e. the strip of land allotted for the railway and its settlements and subsidiary institutions.

After twenty-five years of the existence of the Chinese Eastern Railway, besides Harbin there were several other towns on that territory, and because of the mixed population and the existence of various problems of an international character and conflicting interests, the role of General Chang acquired a particular significance. His appearance at the new year banquet of the municipal administration could not be accidental.

After what I heard one hour earlier in the Commercial Club from the Soviet member of the board of directors of the Chinese Eastern Railway, I decided not to take the floor and to await what the General will say. But he, in turn, awaited speeches from the leaders of the municipality, and it should have been, from my point of view, from the major. But he also was silent.

I still do not know whether it was good or bad that I kept silent. Maybe the General had still not decided to reorganize the municipality so drastically as it was done two or three months later. But I was afraid to take the initiative being unprepared for what could be declared by the General and being not informed about the intentions of other people and especially of the official representatives of the national minorities.

Raymond: What happened later?

Guins: In March, 1926, about three months after the mysterious visit of General Chang Huan Siang to the municipality, there was a meeting of the supervisors, as I used to call the representatives of the national groups in Harbin. There were two subjects to discuss: one, the report of the special committee elected for the revision of the statute of the municipality of Harbin; and the other, a plan for the construction of the electric tramway.

Guins: I was the chairman of the committee for the revision of the statute, and I had to report the decisions of the committee and the proposed changes in the statute. Because of that I asked the deputy chairman, a Chinese, Liu Tse Chun to preside instead of me.

Having opened the meeting, Liu declared that from that day discussion had to be held in Chinese according to the instruction of General Chang Huan Siang, and that everyone who did not understand Chinese would certainly be served by the translator.

Then several people started to protest, because everybody present, including the Chinese members, spoke Russian and the change of language would only complicate the work. A Chinese member objected and declared that everything would stay as it was except the change of language. Yet other members continued to protest.

Finally the meeting was closed. And when we were moving to the doors of the hall, Chinese soldiers blocked our way and demanded from all carrying some papers or documents to leave them in the hall. The next day it was declared that henceforth the Harbin municipality will be reorganized as a Chinese municipality, with a Chinese administration.

Raymond: Were there any official protests from the Soviet administration of the railway and from the official representatives of the foreign countries?

Guins: Let me remind you that on January 1, 1926, two months and several weeks before the meeting about which I just told, the Soviet administration was already informed about the plans of the Chinese administration, and I did not hear about any intention to object to the realization of such plans. I suspected such kind of Soviet compliance earlier.

In 1925 I was again in Japan, that time as a member of the excursion organized by the employees of the Harbin municipality. Our trip coincided with the time of the conclusion of the negotiations between Japan and the U.S.S.R. Recognition of the Communist government was not very popular in Japan, especially because of the active support by Japan of the anti-Communist movement in Siberia and of various governments which existed in the Far Eastern provinces.

The members of the excursion had nothing in common with the Communists but, quite unexpectedly for them, they were

Guins: used by the Japanese administration for representing them as typical Russians supposed to be simultaneously subjects of the Soviet Union. We came to such a conclusion observing a special attention toward us and receptions organized in various cities.

Baron Goto, one of the conspicuous Japanese statesmen, received me as a supposed leader of the excursion, whose arrival he welcomed as it was he who insisted that it was necessary to recognize the Soviet Union and to establish with the Soviets normal diplomatic and business relations.

I expressed to him the gratitude of all the members of the excursion for the exceptional hospitality. And I used that occasion to say to him that as a chairman of the Council of Supervisors of Harbin I was very interested in what will be the Japanese government's attitude if Chinese would try to replace the international organization of the Harbin municipality with a purely Chinese one.

Baron Goto asked me, in turn, what will be the Soviet attitude and was surprised that I offered to him my question. I could not explain the position of the Soviet government. I had to say to him that I was an emigre and had no intention to take a Soviet passport.

Just at that moment the door of his study room was opened and entered another member of the excursion who was a Soviet citizen and, as I understood later, was assigned to follow all other members and to inform the Soviet representatives in Harbin about the excursion and all meetings with the high persons, if such meetings should take place.

He was not invited to Baron Goto and did not know about my intentions. But he found the way to arrive a little later than I did, as soon as he was informed where I was gone. "Who is he?" asked me Goto. I told him that he was one of the Harbin municipality's employees and one of the organizers of the excursion.

I added that I was not sufficiently acquainted with him before. It was enough for Baron Goto. He understood the situation and told me that he was glad to know that the excursions proved to be successful and that I would have to address my questions to the newly appointed Japanese Consul-general, Amo, who would go to Harbin on board the same

Guins: steamer on which our excursion would return from Japan.

The new Consul-general was a very nice man. We had conversation with him during our journey and later some meetings in Harbin. He explained to me that the Japanese government will not protest against the Chinese actions if the Soviet government will not. And the Soviet government, as it was possible to guess, did not protest.

Raymond: How can you explain that indifference?

Guins: I can only suppose. The Soviet government knew about the plans of the Chinese administration. As I told earlier, I heard that from the Soviet representative in January.

Among the persons who were close to General Chang was a member of the auditor's committee of the Chinese Eastern Railway, Yang Chou. He informed the Soviet members about everything that the Chinese decided to do. His activity was later disclosed and General Chang killed him and the corpse of the traitor was dumped. It was a great scandal and sensation in Harbin.

If the Soviet representatives knew about and wanted to prevent the undesirable changes they could find necessary means. But they remained inactive. First, they were not interested in the existence of the international democratic institution. Second, they did not wish to oppose the Chinese nationalists. Third, they had other means to protect their interests.

Once a Soviet official told me, "Is it not strange, Mr. Guins, that you do not understand that the Chinese will voluntarily give us more than we let them take at present?"

Raymond: What did he mean?

Guins: At that time I did not understand, and I told him that I know the Chinese people better than he, and I am sure that the more will the Soviets concede, the more the Chinese will demand.

The occupation of the municipality of Harbin took place in March. In May there was the conflict as a result of which the chief of the Chinese Eastern Railway, Ivanov, was arrested and later dismissed.

The Soviets had to satisfy many other requirements of the Chinese, and the Chinese chief controller was appointed instead of me. There were later some other disagreeable

Guins: changes. I will inform you later about them. There were significant changes, not only in my life.

Soviet Political Maneuverings

Raymond: Let me interrupt you, Professor Guins. You did not say yet directly what kind of plans the Soviet diplomats had when they expressed their confidence in the future "voluntary concessions" on the part of the Chinese.

Guins: I believe that the story of the conflict with the Mukden marshal was an indirect answer. If we add the story of the ambassador Karakhan in Peking and the story of the so-called General Borodin in Shanghai who succeeded simultaneously and in a comparatively short time to create a net of Communist cells in China and to arm Communist sympathizers, we can summarize these data and formulate the Soviet expectations as the impending realization of their plan for the overthrow of the regime of warlords, the Peking pro-Western government, and Chiang Tso Lin in Mukden.

The forthcoming new favorable-to-Communists regime, which will be dependent on the Soviet support, will "voluntarily concede to the Soviets." Temporary concessions and compromises on the part of the Soviet government were thus no more than a transitional policy which screened the real plans and, as the Soviet diplomats believed, let them get more considerable influence on the Chinese policy at the expense of the Western powers and in competition with the obviously aggressive plans of Japan.

In connection with this general description of the political calculations and conflicting interests, I remember an interesting incident. During one of the inspection tours with Ivanov, the then chief manager of the Chinese Eastern Railway, he told me that he wanted to use his visit to the northern part of the Chinese Eastern Railway for seeing a Mongol camp and getting an impression about their way of life and economic conditions.

He asked me whether I will take part in that tour. I nodded. I was always eager to see and know something new, and after my mission to Turkestan in 1909 and my acquaintance with kirghises (Kazakhs) was naturally glad to see Mongols.

Guins: We left the town of Khailar, located on the Chinese Eastern Railway not far from the Russian-Chinese border, and reached soon a Mongol camp where we were received in a Mongol hoshung (aoul). Its head was certainly known to the railway economist, who accompanied the chief of the railway Ivanov.

Maybe the visit itself had been prepared in advance, for I did not notice any surprise or else confusion when we appeared there. I wish I could know something more about the respectable head of the Mongol group who gave the impression of being an intelligent man. He was not a primitive nomad.

When Ivanov asked him about relations between Chinese and Mongols, he answered that until everything exists as it is, Mongols have to reconcile with the reality. Ivanov asked further whether Mongols want any change. He answered that he wanted to know whether the Russians had any plans of changes and of support of the Mongol nationalist movement.

The conversation was not durable, as the trip to one and the other side required a time; neither was it serious. Yet its political character was quite clear. And it was not difficult to understand that the purpose of the trip had nothing in common with the interest in Mongol economic conditions.

It will not be superfluous to add, I believe, that in 1925 the status of Mongolia was still not clear. In 1921 there was already the Mongol National Party, but the Mongol People's Republic was founded in 1940 only.

Raymond: Was Ostroumov also interested in Mongol economy?

Guins: I never heard about his personal interest in that subject as also I did not hear about his trip to the west of Khailar, a town which, I should say, was more Russian or Mongol than Chinese. But the economic bureau undoubtedly could and even should be interested in such data because of the necessity of preparing the data about possible export and import.

I told you about that incidental tour to illustrate how wide were Soviet political plans from the beginning and how concessions to the Chinese on the one hand, and conspiracies and subversions in China on the other, were based on the long-range plans and the confidence that at the end it will be the Soviet gain.

Guins Dismissed as Controller

Raymond: Thank you, Professor Guins. At present I want to ask you to tell how you existed having lost your high position on the Chinese Eastern Railway.

Guins: The period of the prosperity was not durable--from 1922 up to 1926--four and a half years in total. It was a period when I had at my disposal a large house with light, fuel, and telephone at the cost of the railway, and with an excellent garden, almost a small park. Every spring a special gardener decorated it with carpet beds.

I could get a car at any time, and a special coach if I was leaving for a business trip. Certainly the conditions of life changed for worse. Yet I received a sufficiently large pecuniary compensation for four and a half years of service and loss of work that I could acquire a house with three apartments, one of which I leased.

It was a modest house but on a large lot of land located in a still not developed part of the city.

Raymond: Why did you lease only one of the three apartments?

Guins: One I occupied myself, and the second I gave to my brother, who had been in the Admiral Kolchak army and succeeded to escape after two years of living under a strange name.

After my dismissal, the main source of my life was the salary for teaching at the College of Law, but I had also some additional earnings for the legal consultations, public lectures, and articles in the railway magazine Messenger of Manchuria (Vestnik Manchzhurii).

I was not worrying at that time about economic needs. My first wish and goal was to complete my dissertation. It was the same as in St. Petersburg when in 1913 I preferred to change my position in the Resettlement Administration for a lower position in the office of the Ministry to have time for passing examinations.

In 1926 I preferred more modest conditions of life than to find a position in a private firm. My decision in St. Petersburg secured my existence in Siberia and Manchuria,

Guins: where my academic title of professor opened to me various possibilities. In Harbin the degree which I later received in Paris, France, opened for me the doors of the University of California and later gave me a chance to get a position in Washington, D. C. But that was much later.

I returned to my academic job as the main job of mine, and in that time started the most productive period of my scholarly work. I had a possibility to complete, first of all, my dissertation, and in 1928 I left Harbin for Europe for presenting my dissertation to the Academic Group attached to the Sorbonne University in Paris, France.

This Russian institution was recognized by the French Ministry of Education as competent to award scholarly degrees of magister and doctor in conformity with the requirements of the Russian universities and laws.

Politics at the Harbin College of Law

Raymond: Professor Guins! You mentioned several times the Harbin College of Law, but you did not tell about the political views of professors. Were there differences between them as regards their political orientation?

Guins: Differences? Of course! How could it be otherwise? Even one and the same man could be different in various moments of his life. Ustrialov, for example, welcomed Semenov's detachments as those Russians who can save Irkutsk from Communism. But after crossing the Russian-Chinese frontier and moving to Harbin, he began to think that it was his mistake and that it would have been better to stay in Russia submitting to the Communist regime.

I remember one meeting in the basement of the house not far from the cathedral in Harbin where we professors and a group of people interested in the current events had organized a meeting to discuss the political situation. Ustrialov defended his point of view that it was inevitable that the Communist regime would be recognized.

Raymond: By whom?

Guins: By the other states and nations, because there were no more forces to fight and resist. This was then perhaps premature,

Guins: because there was General Wrangel who could organize a movement, and there was still a front between Russia and Poland. But Ustrialov, probably prophetically, foresaw that all this resistance would not be sufficient if all of Russia is already under the leadership of the Communist Party.

And he, for the first time, used a word characterizing for a while a certain ideological movement--"the change of the landmarks." One of his arguments seemed to many of the persons listening to him as a kind of proclamation. He said that from the point of view of the final destiny of the Russian nation it was not so important whether the chimes on the Kremlin would play the patriotic "Kol' Slaven" or the "Internationale", because whether under one or the other, Russia will be a powerful nation.

So nationalist feelings prevailed over the feelings of those who were devoted to old, traditional Russia. And besides, what did the "change of landmarks" at that time mean? For the first time we heard the word "landmarks" (vekhi) in 1909, when a group of Russian intellectuals initiated a symposium.

The respectable authors appealed in their articles to the Russian intelligentsia to repent and acknowledge the mistakes of the past, for example, insufficient understanding of the value of the state, insufficient understanding of the value of law as the system of order which can support the state and the interests of the nation and the possibility for everyone to develop his own initiative and to defend his freedom.

The Russian intelligentsia was reproached in particular for the lack of religious philosophy, for not understanding how important the church was for the life of the country. In the book Vekhi, many points of view were emphasized which were ignored by the factions which believed in revolution and in revolutionary changes and did not resist the breakup of Russia.

Raymond: In 1909 there was a specific movement?

Guins: The symposium, "Vekhi", was not connected with a specific political movement. It appeared as a symptom of a change of moods. It reflected a certain disappointment in the skepticism of the Russian intelligentsia and its devotion to rationalism and materialism.

Guins: A part of the Russian intelligentsia was becoming more conservative. Publication of this symposium was closely connected with the experiences during the first Russian revolution in 1905 and 1906, when the trends of the extreme leftists already awakened the consciousness of the danger which the revolution would bring to the whole country.

So, in this symposium there was at least a partial restoration of some foundations of the former more conservative ideology. But for those who disagreed with Ustrialov, the new "change of landmarks" appeared simply as surrender, the surrender to the revolution without any positive ideas.

Ustrialov certainly believed that after several decades of revolution, the old foundations would be restored, that respect toward state and law, ethical principles, and religious philosophy would be revived.

But why should we not continue the struggle in such forms as we were able to do? That was the mood of the antagonists of Ustrialov, the people who did not believe in his slogans.

His new philosophy seemed so unexpected from the man who three months earlier was such a partisan of the anti-Communist movement that it was understood as a submission, an unconditional surrender. But he was a gifted man; he wrote very well.

And, besides, his slogans corresponded to the moods of the people who did not take part in the anti-Communist movement, who lived in Harbin in the anticipation of what might be, who wanted first of all a calm life and either the possibility to return home or to have various kinds of business contacts with Russia under the new regime.

Meetings of this kind were repeated from time to time. And the partisans of the new trend always offered one or another new slogan. For example, once it was the slogan "The Soviets without Communists," which was offered as a program by which was meant that whenever the Communists would weaken or whenever we would have won the struggle against Communism, we would recognize the soviet system.

Raymond: What year was that?

Guins: Oh, about 1921.

Raymond: I am asking because this was the slogan used by the Kronstadt sailors when they rebelled against the Lenin government in 1921.

Guins: Possibly it was borrowed from there, because that happened about the same time. My objection to these slogans was that if there were no Communists, the soviets would be quite a different organization and there would then be no need for this word.

For we are not objecting against the word but against the whole hierarchy and the organization of the soviets as a system submitting the whole country to the domination of the Communist Party. The soviets under the Communists are meetings of the people who recognize the Soviet regime as the system of the domination of the Communist Party.

Therefore, if the soviets would be without Communists, they would have to be reorganized completely. A new democratic principle would have to be instituted. Then everything would have to be changed.

There was also another slogan. This time it was not the Kronstadt slogan but "The Tsar and the Soviets." And one of the authors of this slogan was Prince Kropotkin, one of the relatives of the well-known anarchist of the middle of the nineteenth century.

He told me that he was ashamed to have such relatives as the anarchist Kropotkin, but at the same time he had some original ideas and also liberal ideas. "The Tsar and the Soviets" would mean a limited power of the Tsar with representation of the people.

This was not too far removed from the ideology of the slavophiles who also wanted to have a tsar or emperor with the "zemskii sobor". However, the movement in search for new ideologies could not stop with these naive ideas.

Then there were other disagreements among the professors. They arose on the basis so familiar in the movements of the nineteenth century when the East opposed the West--when Russia was opposed to Europe. It was predicted by some very original thinkers of Russia, such as Danilevskii in his work Russia In Europe and the religious philosopher Count Leontyev in his Thoughts on Russia, that

Guins: the "West" is a doomed world, that it belonged to old nations which are in a stage of senility.

These ideas of Russia of the nineteenth century were during the twentieth century supported by Western thinkers themselves. In Germany, for instance, by Spengler-- Untergang des Abendlandes. Then, if they are disappointed about the future, why should we not believe that Russia, a young nation, would survive Communism and that a new empire with a new ideology and a new social order will present a new word to the world?

Raymond: Was this movement represented among some circle of professors in Harbin?

Guins: Yes, there were partisans of this ideology.

Raymond: Was this known as the Eurasianism?

Guins: No, the Eurasianism was quite another thing. It was born in the West among some Russian philosophers and thinkers in Paris. You will probably find several magazines on this in the library.

Raymond: But this was not too widely represented in Harbin?

Guins: This literature circulated among us and we did discuss these problems too. Maybe I was closer to these ideas than anybody else among the professors, but not in full.

Russian-Chinese Cultural Ties

My idea which was more or less similar to this kind of movement was that during the long period of isolation from the West and also because of the Russian geography, Russia could not eliminate various kinds of cultural influences from the East. And I found some kind of propinquity in Russian culture to the Chinese in the field of ethics.

When I was in Peking together with the members of the board of the Chinese Eastern Railway (I had told you that there was a meeting of the shareholders) I had a chance to visit various Chinese temples and to make acquaintance with

Guins: the different religions in China: Taoism, Confucianism, and Buddhism and their influence on Chinese social life and public order.

After my return to Harbin I published a pamphlet entitled "Ethical Problems of Contemporary China." At the end of this pamphlet I included a small essay characterizing similarities of the foundations of ethics in Russia and China.

The similarities which I tried to underline consist from my point of view in the relatively inconsiderable influence of law in the Russian state and in the Russian social order up to the present time. A lack of a legal mind was characterized by one Russian poet who said ironically that the Russian mind was "too wide to be confined in the narrow frames of law."

And in fact, the slavophiles spoke and wrote about law very negligently. One of the Russian thinkers mentioned already, Leontiev, said that it was easier for a Russian man to be a saint than to be a legitimist. A Bill of Exchange as a legal document in which everything is based on a strong formality served to Leontiev as an illustration to what degree legal honesty could be deprived of ethical content.

In China the same attitude toward law prevailed for centuries. And I don't think that was a characteristic of China only, but rather of many other Asian nations living in widely expanded countries with difficult conditions for the struggle for existence, the stability of patriarchal way of life, and social relations.

They are more servile than those living in ancient Greece where they were not terrified by elemental forces and whose gods were anthropomorphized. In Asia there were more similarities of life and therefore more similarities of ethical bases.

One could often find sentences in old Russian annals in which read precepts similar to those we read in old Chinese books. For example, that the example of man is more significant than regulation by legal norm--that if the Emperor was a completely virtuous man and gave the country an example of good behavior, that was more important than if he gave it an excellent code of law.

Raymond: And against this was the emphasis of the West? The Romans were so happy when they had their laws written down.

Guins: Certainly. And it is very interesting that the explanation of Roman law starts with a sentence, "Jus est ars aequi et boni," in which the significance of law is put into the first place together with other ethical principles.

One may find a more informative discussion of that problem in my essay, "Ethical Problems of Contemporary China," published in Volume V of the Annals of the College of Law in Harbin (Izvestiia Juridicheskogo Faculteta v Harbine).

Guins's Idea of Social Progress

In another volume was published my speech on the subject of progress. There was a disagreement between members of the faculty who did not believe that progress, in fact, exists.

Raymond: You mean the general theory of progress?

Guins: Yes. It is indisputable that economic progress exists because the people produce more and better with less expenditure of energy, with the manpower which consists of only one fraction of society so the others can be occupied by various other professions in conformity with their vocations and interests.

Also, the progress of science is indisputable. But there is a skepticism in the field of ethics, and sometimes even in the field of art. The advocates of the lack of progress ask what is the progress in the field of sculpture if we compare it with the sculpture of Greece or, in the field of literature, Homer with the poets of the present time. There are certainly many difficult problems.

My field was the development of law and with that the development of social life. I reminded in my speech that we passed from slavery to serfdom to the hiring of workmen. Let us acknowledge that workers could be and were exploited by the entrepreneurs. The workers organized in unions represent now such a force that they are well able to sometimes dictate the conditions of work.

Guins: If we can speak of progress in science and economics, we certainly have enough data to assert the possibility of progress in social life and consequently in the law, which is only a form of social life. If we are speaking about the interrelations of various groups we are speaking about the legal positions of one or another group and about the conditions which are securing the possibility to bargain and to coordinate the interests of both sides--the employers and the workers.

Raymond: How might your theory of progress be applied for deciding the problem of whether the October Revolution stimulated progress? From that point of view can the revolution be characterized as a factor of progress?

Guins: I like this question. You remember Professor Ustrialov considered the October Revolution after the victory of Bolshevism as a progressive phenomenon because Russia would remain a world power and Russia as a nation would be able to strengthen her international significance.

He did not accept the theory of progress in general and considered separate periods as successful or unsuccessful from a certain point of view, as, for example, of national interests.

My approach differed from the approach of Ustrialov from two points of view. First, in speaking about progress, I emphasized that certain values have a general significance, not such events or achievements which correspond to the interests of a particular nation.

I have in mind the values characterizing the human culture: science, art, social welfare, but first of all and especially the ethical foundations of human behavior and social relations. Second, I attached a great importance to the means with which a certain success or certain achievements were attained and supported.

I was and remain conservative according to my character and trends. But every person who supports the idea of progress cannot be reactionary and a partisan of stagnation. A conservative man cannot be a revolutionary. But, if a revolution took place, he may accept it as a new initial point, but then only if he finds that this revolution opens prospects corresponding to the principles based on the great human values and does not contradict his basic

Guins: principles and does not violate the existing ethical foundations of social culture.

From this point of view, Ustrialov's justification of the October Revolution as a new way to world power and international influence seemed to me a vicious approach to the problem, although I do not deny some special achievements of the Soviet regime in the field of economy and science, which are but natural in a country with very rich natural resources and a number of outstanding scholars.

Dissertation - The Water Law

Raymond: You said that your main purpose after leaving the Chinese Eastern Railway was to complete your dissertation. Did you set forth in your work some general ideas or was it a research of a purely legal character?

Guins: My dissertation was a special work of legal character. The subject of my work--the Water Law--was connected with my observations and the problems discussed during my trip in 1909 to Turkestan.

After my return I had described my impressions and offered an outline of a special law in my reports, which in an enlarged and developed form was published in the Voprosy Kolonizatsii, a symposium published by two officials of the Resettlement Administration in St. Petersburg, N. A. Gavrilov and G. F. Chirkin.

But my dissertation was not a repetition of the original surveys. It was a study of the modern water law in all its aspects on the basis of the knowledge of legal relations of the people using water for irrigation. I studied the legislation of the modern states, in particular of Germany, where these new laws were issued in the first quarter of the twentieth century in conformity with various agricultural and industrial needs of our age.

Information of such a kind might be very useful for legislators and of interest to scholars who include new materials in their courses. But a scientific work does not consist of information only. I was interested in water law because I found in its modern development something quite

Guins: new as compared with what I could know before.

The right of water was usually connected in the conceptions of a European jurist with the right to the land on which or in which that water could be taken and used. The water of a river did not belong to anybody because it was flowing and could not be stopped as far as it was *res publica publico usui destinata* (in common use according to the law).

The right of fishing, swimming, rowing, etc. depended on the right of access to the land covered with water or to the bank of a river. But I saw for the first time in Turkestan a river bed without water and was informed that water was distributed by a net of canals and was used for irrigation in conformity with the needs of a number of cultivators of the tilled lands.

The existence of an organization supporting canals and controlling the established order of the distribution let me understand that it was quite a new legal system, as compared with what was connected with the right on the land covered with stagnant or flowing water.

However I found later in the collection of Roman laws, the Corpus Juris Civilis, an indication of the existence in Roman law of some similar regulations concerning "aqua diurna" and "aqua nocturna" (day and night use of water). Our teachers of Roman law did not mention that kind of law as they were not acquainted with corresponding needs and orders.

But that was not all. In the new laws concerning the right of water a conspicuous place was occupied by the problem of water as a source of energy, the problem of the "white coal" (*houille blanche*). The necessity to construct dams on the banks of rivers, to divert water from the river beds, to reconcile the private interests with the public interest, and to secure public interest in case of the participation of private capital in the construction of hydro-electrical power stations--all that was also an additional element in the new law, characterizing the incorporation of public norms in the field of private rights.

And last but not least, I was deeply interested in organization of the so-called water companies, organizations of people mutually supporting the net of canals, distributing water on the basis of commonly established regulations and jointly enforcing the observation of the established regulations.

Guins: I found the ethical basis of this system, which I called "solidarism," from the word and principle of solidarity which united people having common interests. Such were the general ideas which I set forth in my work written on the special subject, The Water Law.

Raymond: Was this book published in Harbin?

Guins: It consisted of two parts. One was devoted to the relating of the principles of the Roman Law, and the other to the modern legislation concerning the use of water, and the legal relations connected with irrigation. Each part was published separately in the Izvestia Juridicheskogo Fakulteta and the reprints joined together formed one whole work.

Trip to France, 1928 - 1929

Raymond: When did you leave for France for presenting your work as a dissertation?

Guins: I left in August, 1928, but I defended my dissertation only in April, 1929. I visited many countries in Asia and Europe. I was going on the board of a German steamer, Trier, which had to load and unload various goods in different ports and was mooring in some ports for several days.

Because of that I had a chance to get many observations and acquire much knowledge which became very useful for understanding the modern world.

Raymond: Will you please, Professor Guins, recall some of your observations which you find the most significant for the purpose which you have mentioned?

Guins: Well, the first group of them related to China, where I was living before my trip to Western Europe for eight years. I was twice in Peking, in Tientsin, in Tsingtao, not to say about Harbin, Manchuria. Among all these places only Peking produced an unforgettable and fascinated impression on me.

Guins: I succeeded there to become familiar with some characteristics of the Chinese culture, and under the impression I got I wrote my essay, "The Ethical Problems of China." My compatriot, Mr. N. A. Konovalov, in whose home I was living and who knew well the Chinese language and Peking, asked me on the eve of my departure what was my opinion about the future of China.

He had in mind a possibility of significant political and cultural changes. I remember that I answered to him without fail, "I would not choose this city as a place for living. It is difficult to foresee what it will be, but the changes will be in any case unfavorable for the foreigners and will have nothing in common with the ancient Chinese culture. Remember 'Boxers'."

Konovalov did not object. He had, probably, some doubts about the future, but he liked Peking and the old China and hesitated. I did not see him more, and I do not know how did he end his life. But I know that he was arrested, his property was confiscated, and he was deported from China as if he were a criminal.

Raymond: Why was he treated so ruthlessly?

Guins: It was an act of revenge not so much against himself as against the durable period of the insulting attitude toward Chinese national feelings. Konovalov had been one of the foreign officials who collected custom duties for the compensation of the European powers which took part in the liquidation of the "Boxer uprising" in 1900.

Russia took part in the campaign undertaken against the Boxers, and Konovalov was one of the collectors of the custom duties as the representative of Russian interests. He knew the Chinese language.

Raymond: On the basis of what kind of observations did you reach your pessimistic conclusion?

Guins: On the basis of irreconcilable contradictions between the Chinese philosophy of the past and the moods of the new modernized generations.

Impressions of China

Guins: However I did not say too much about my first impressions. I will tell you now about the impressions of 1928, when I was on the way to Europe. The German steamer Trier stopped in Tsingtao, in Shanghai, in Hong Kong, and finally in Fuchow. I remember I wrote to my wife, "Two weeks passed, and I am still in China."

Only during this trip did I begin to imagine the immensity of the country which has the name China, just as I could imagine what a boundless country was Siberia only when I crossed it for the first time from Omsk to Vladivostok.

But China is not only an immense territory, it is a human anthill. Everywhere, in Shanghai, Tientsin, Fuchow, a European feels himself submerged into an enormous swarm of human beings in the midst of which one feels himself defenseless and strange as if he were a creature from another world.

Under such an impression the power of an inconsiderable number of Europeans, who pretended to dominate over that crowd and to suggest their own superiority, seemed to be incomprehensible and doomed.

In Shanghai one could see some foreigners who, having hired rickshas, did not differ men drawing them in their two-wheel carriages from horses, did not hesitate to put their legs on the shoulders of the "men-horses", and did not pay them for their work but threw the money on the sidewalk. A gentleman playing golf had behind him a boy who had to pick up balls and run behind as a little doggy behind its master.

In Hong Kong I observed how eight Chinese were carrying a sedan chair with canopy. Inside was sitting the governor of the British crown colony. The house in which the governor had been living was located on a high peak of the mountain which dominated the island territory of the colony of Hong Kong. Rank-and-file people could reach the peak if not by foot by a funicular.

Everywhere the settlements of the Europeans were isolated from the settlements of the native people. In Shanghai it was prohibited to the Chinese to enter the

Guins: public park on the international concession. In Fuchow the European settlement was situated near the shore of the river gulf where the steamers came from the ocean entering from the Pacific and moving between the picturesque mountainous shores covered with the tea plantations. The city Fuchow was situated a certain distance from the shore and the port, isolated from the foreign colony.

There were everywhere in China striking contrasts between comfort and riches on the one hand, and the utter poverty on the other.

A group of the passengers from the steamer Trier went for a trip in the Chinese city Fuchow, a place where it was possible to buy excellent lacquered handicraft wares. We returned in the night after a supper in a Chinese restaurant. My ricksha proved to be the weakest among a dozen of the others.

He lagged behind and we lost all others from sight. I noticed that my ricksha turned to another street than those who left us behind. Being in a quite unknown place and not knowing the Chinese language, I could not either ask or guide my "coachman", and I could not but become patient.

We arrived anyhow to the same place where all other companions were waiting for me. But they were sitting already in a boat which had to deliver us to the steamer, which could not moor because of the shallow water in the port, water too shallow for the ocean liners.

When I was preparing money for my ricksha, he took a torn sack with two holes and dressed in it as pants. Then he prepared his carriage as a bed with some rags instead of a pillow. He was so tired that he became almost indifferent to everything. He wanted to sleep.

Raymond: What did the other rickshas do?

Guins: They reached the port some minutes earlier and probably all of them left already. I want to add that the profession of rickshas was very hard for some of them. I had another case for observing exhaustion of such a man-horse.

It was in Shanghai. I gave to my ricksha the address. Half-way he began to respire with obvious symptoms of suffocation. Finally, breathlessly with an apologetic look, he stopped. He could not move farther. He was amazed that

Guins: I paid him the whole tax instead of scold him as probably happened in such cases on the part of the passengers not delivered to the place of their destination. The contract had been violated.

Such were the abnormalities in China of that time. It could not survive for a long time. But what could be done?

Raymond: There were certainly some foreign organizations which treated poor and sick people in China, or educated children and young men and girls?

Guins: No doubt there were. Some of them established by the religious missions, others by individual persons or firms. But it was China, an ocean, in which even the most generous acts could remain unnoticed. They also could not be effective because of the imperfection of the Chinese orders and government organizations, secular stagnation, and crying contrasts between the prosperity of an inconsiderable part of the population and the needs of innumerable peasants, workers, and especially unskilled workmen.

I was told many times that any violation of the existing strict regulations created such complications that everybody preferred to observe routine, no matter if it was expedient and just or not. "Give a ricksha a little more than everybody gives, and there will be a kind of mutiny from the part of scores of others," explained to me some experienced people.

A reformer could not find an appropriate method of approach to the practical solution of his intention. Let me, however, continue my story.

Raymond: Did you finish your impressions regarding China?

Guins: As regards my personal impressions in China proper, yes.

From Fuchow our steamer went to the Philippines, stopping in Manila. From Manila we went to Singapore, and later Medan, Sumatra. Two weeks more and we were in the region of south-eastern Asia. It was not China, but we were still in the area where we constantly felt its nearness.

First of all, the Chinese language could be no less useful than the English. Then I began to understand that Chinese were right to say that the most far-spread language

Guins: in the world was the Chinese language. It was correct, as the number of people speaking Chinese exceeded numerically the people speaking English, French, and Spanish.

Among the passengers on board the Trier there were since the departure from Shanghai several young Chinese, boys and girls, who were going to France or enrolling in the French higher learning institutions. They rendered me many valuable services.

Everywhere they found connections--somewhere compatriots, somewhere Chinese officials, like the consul in Medan who helped us on their advice. In Medan the Chinese even let us use his car for going to the mountain resort, where we not only were saved from the heat. On the contrary, it proved to be very cool there in spite of the nearness to the Equator.

We enjoyed also the wonderful panorama opening from the mountain road during our journey to the summit and back. Everywhere were Chinese commercial enterprises and Chinese colonists, mostly prosperous and showing a good example to the natives by their agricultural experience and wonderful industriousness.

Impressions of that kind let me at present imagine that the existence of Taiwan and ROC (the Republic of China) might have a greater significance than one may suppose in case of the failure of the Communist regime in the continental China.

Raymond: What do you mean saying "great significance"?

Guins: I mean the role of the Chinese who are ruling successfully the Republic of China and the connections and commercial and industrial experience of the Chinese businessmen living in Singapore, Sumatra, etc. could have significance. When Japanese occupied Manchuria they began to colonize it very successfully, but they were conquerors of the country, not of the hearts and consciousness of the inhabitants.

The Chinese, who might return to their fatherland, will reversely be the children and grandchildren of their native land. The Chinese people who will return will bring there what no foreign people could bring--not only their knowledge and experience, but also their prestige and love of the country and its people.

Raymond: Had you some specific observations while stopping in Singapore and Sumatra? I mean besides observations relating to the role of Chinese there?

Guins: Adding Ceylon to Singapore and Sumatra, I can summarize my "specific", as you said, observations there as a correction of my former ideas as regards the Western colonialism. I used to consider it as economic exploitation supported by the colonial administration, abusive of national feelings of the native population.

In China foreign colonies were established in the form of trading stations which were organized on the concessions and served also as the strongholds for protecting the interests of the corresponding foreign countries.

As much as I could judge, Russians who came to China later than the other Westerners did not deserve such a critical appraisal. They did not treat the natives so haughtily as Englishmen did, for example. But it is very important that Russians not only came later but also were neighbors of Chinese and had some old connections with the Chinese nation and people.

However, as I told already, I changed my former very one-sided characterization of colonialism. Colonialism did not remain the same; it was changing as everything was changing. On Sumatra and in Ceylon I could notice the results of the European influences and civilization: a good order, discipline, successful economic development, and symptoms of the rising welfare of the people.

Both Dutch people and Englishmen organized not only trade but also new enterprises, industrial and agricultural, extracting and manufacturing. Cities and towns were prosperous and well-equipped from the point of view of sanitary needs, protection from floods, ways of communications, excellent roads.

When in Colombo I could not explain well to the post officer what I wanted, he ceased to be polite, but in one moment an English policeman appeared, and the attitude toward an inexperienced foreigner changed for the better and all troubles were liquidated.

Going from Colombo to Candy, a resort in the mountains inside the island, I could see everywhere natives as guardians of order, but from time to time some English policemen inspected one or another place, and their existence was quite sufficient for supporting discipline

Guins: and order. It was possible to expect that the transformation of the colony into a Commonwealth country would not be accompanied with perversions. I never was in the French colonies in Africa, but I guess that Frenchmen, like Englishmen, left their colonies sufficiently well-prepared for self-government.

I want to add that later our steamer stopped in Port Sudan, a port on the African shore of the Red Sea. I visited that small town, saw its native inhabitants, and, since I could imagine the conditions of their life, I understood that not every colony and not every population could be civilized in the same degree in the same period of time.

My impressions were very superficial, let me repeat, and I did not overestimate my conclusions. I relate them only as a kind of material for discussion and as an addition to what other people saw and knew.

Italy and Fascist Ideas

Raymond: Will you tell also about your impressions obtained during your life in the European countries?

Guins: I want to do it but as far only as these impressions were connected with my subsequent literary works. From that point of view, very significant in my life was a month of my life in Italy.

It was the time when Mussolini was at the apex of his influence and success. At the day when I left in the port of Genoa the steamer with the intention to go to Roma, Italy observed the sixth anniversary of the Fascist era. (I am not, however, sure that it was really the sixth.)

Along the main street was moving a not very impressive column of fascists in their black shirts. Newspapers repeated the popular slogans of the leading party and the government. Everything was quite new for me.

Afterwards I was living in Italy about one month longer than I supposed while preparing a plan of my European tour. I devoted a certain time for making acquaintance with

Guins: the ideology of fascism and its legislation. For better understanding I visited the Ministry of Corporations, a central institution which did not exist earlier and up to the present time was never organized after the end of the Fascist era.

A very elegant official of the ministry supplied me with the publications of the ministry and explained me some Italian words, which I could not understand in spite of the nearness of the Italian with the classic Latin and the modern romance languages.

He was a little confused when I could not understand why midwives were included in the number of labor groups united in one of the corporations. I had the impression that he only fulfilled his duties but was not completely convinced that the corporative system of the artificial organization of two parallel groups--one uniting employers and the other workers and professionals--was quite reasonable.

Anyhow, due to the materials which I received and explanations given by the officer, I became familiar with the fascist legislation from the point of view of its main principles and ideas.

I had contacts also with professors of the Rome University. One of them, Professor of Roman Law Scialloia, invited me to a cafe house for an evening meeting with a group of professors who were interested in China and in the life and activity of Russian professors there. They did not like to speak about fascism.

They warned me that the rector of the university, Professor Del Vecchio, was a supporter of fascism. I wanted to see him because I knew his works. Later I met Del Vecchio and was glad to acquire his course of lectures on philosophy of law. He, in turn, was interested in the works and theories of Professor Petrazicki and gave me his card with a request to transfer it to Petrazicki when I will see him in Warsaw, as a token of the respect of the Italian colleague.

A majority of professors, as least of professors of the Department of Law, were not partisans of fascism. One of the professors, when he saw me in his class among the students, looked at me suspiciously, and I decided that he took me for a spy, as he was also a statesman of the government which preceded fascism.

Guins: It was not so difficult to understand that fascism, similarly with Communism, although inimical to each other from the point of view of ideology, used similar methods of persecution of their antagonists and of intelligence in the institutions of higher learning.

An artificially created organization of the fascist state power and its system of regulations of social life obviously had many enemies in Italy. As a nationalistic state organization, it led the country to the union with Germany, the occupation of Ethiopia, and finally to the defeat in World War II.

I was nevertheless interested in some fascist ideas since I found in the main works of the period of fascism the word "solidarieta", (solidarity), which, as you know already, became a basic presumption of my system of water law and later of the whole of my conception of the future state and social legislation.

Raymond: Did you find Mussolini's system worthy of imitation?

Guins: Many readers, having read or maybe only looked through my book, From Liberalism to Solidarism, reached the conclusion that I approved the Italian fascism. The book itself does not give sufficient grounds for such a conclusion.

There was a quite different approach to the problem of solidarity: the water societies were organized spontaneously on the basis of common interest in creating and supporting the irrigation canals, in just distribution of water, and in a strict observation of quotas and time of use by every partner.

The same principle has laid the foundation for the organization of cooperatives, the labor unions, and, as I was informed originally in Germany, of entrepreneurs. I was in Germany in January and February of 1929. I was given there a book by a former German prisoner in Siberia who returned to Germany after the end of the war, was working in Berlin, and had there connections with the Russian academic group.

He welcomed me in the office of that group, invited me for a lunch, and furnished me with some publications. The book, which I have mentioned, contained a list of the various German enterprises which voluntarily united for protecting common interests and reconciling disagreements.

Guins: All these organizations were based on the principle of common interests and the process of the coordination and mutual protection of interests from the bottom to the top. Solidarity of fascist Italy was, reversely, presumed by the government and dictated. Its realization was originated at the top, by the government, and developed from the top to the bottom.

Mussolini organized the so-called "corporations": corporations of the owners of businesses and of the employees and workers. Simultaneously he established corresponding government organizations which had to lead "corporations", reconcile them in case of conflicts, and, in fact, dictate to them the policy prescribed by the government, for example, to cut prices and earnings.

I could not ignore fascism discussing the problem of the organization of social interrelations on the basis of the principle of solidarity or of the "common cause", but I did not recommend it as I did not recommend in general any particular system, supposing that a virtual system of solidarism has to be originated on the foundation of really existing consciousness of common interests and the advantages of their protection on the basis and in the limits of their solidarity.

Raymond: Did any similar ideas exist earlier in the literature devoted to the social problems?

Guins: The ethics of solidarity is so old as the world itself. But the idea of the possibility of organization of a social system on the scale of a national organization supported by the state, could not be popular when Marxism spread just opposite principles of the class antagonism and class struggle. I looked for an ideology which could be opposed to Marxism, opposed to the theory of class struggle.

Paris and the Principle of Solidarism

Guins: The principle of solidarism was emphasized in the textbook of a French economist, Charles Gide. He prophesized the idea of solidarism from the economic point of view. And then during my trip to Europe I worked in the National Library in Paris and I found a theory of solidarism set forth by several sociologists at the end of the 19th and the beginning of the 20th century.

Guins: One of them was the French statesman Bourgeois, who was a minister of the French government. He characterized solidarism as "the philosophy of the Third French Republic." But solidarism was not sufficiently elaborated by him as a form of state and as a basis of the social structure.

Both Charles Gide and Bourgeois limited their theory of solidarism as recommendation for accepting it as a basis of social progress, supposing that members of the same society should not fight each other but help each other. And, therefore, any legislation which will support the weak group of the population will be based, in fact, on the idea of solidarity of the whole nation.

If the state helps the weak, then it helps him at the expense of the strong, restoring the ignored solidarity of interests. There were then in that theory some approaches to the modern social order. Solidarism suggested the social legislation but not a socialist state. But it was set forth in such a general form that the idea itself was soon forgotten and no matter how strange it could seem, nobody returned for a while to the principles which were characterized as those of the Third French Republic.

Sociologists, naturally, could not ignore the principle of a "common cause" and, consequently, of solidarity, and a jurist, Duguit, well-known theoretician of the state law, developed his study of the public law and state law on the basis of coordination of interests of various social groups by the state.

Raymond: Were your general ideas about solidarism, as you formulate sometimes your philosophy of law, set forth in your book on water law?

Guins: No, they were not. In the conclusion I mentioned some of my ideas which were connected with my impressions in Turkestan in connection with the use of water for irrigation. But at the time of the dispute, when I defended in Paris my dissertation, I had already elaborated my philosophy of "solidarism".

Raymond: When and where did the dispute take place?

Dissertation Dispute

Guins: The dispute took place in the second half of April, 1929, in the hall of the French Ministry of Education. In the building of that Ministry the Russian Academic Group had and still has its office. The chairman was Professor Antsiferoff, economist.

My first opponent was Professor Eliashvich, who taught Civil Law at the St. Petersburg Polytechnic Institute and who also in addition to Professor M. Pergament was giving lectures at the Petrograd University. The second opponent was Professor Gronslii, specialist in public law, as my work was devoted to the problems close to both categories of law, the private and the public law.

Later I offered to recognize also a third category of the "regulative" laws. Besides the opponents at the table of the academic council, there were about five more professors whom I did not know in Russia. They taught in the provincial universities.

My opening speech, which in conformity with the established order in Russia I delivered before the beginning of the dispute, was devoted to the ideas of general character: the transformation of law--in particular of civil law--in connection with the new conditions of law; and to the significance of the principle and psychology of solidarity as substitute to liberalism and socialism.

The dispute was public. A number of listeners attended. In Russian newspapers there was an announcement, and it attracted not a few Russian emigres. Among those present I had the pleasure to see some of my former students in Harbin School of Law, and some colleagues who were former students of the St. Petersburg University, like Professor Gurvich, who became at that time a professor of sociology in France.

After the dispute I invited all members of the Academic Group who attended the dispute to the restaurant, where we exchanged some ideas and impressions.

Raymond: What academic degree did you receive?

Guins: After I passed examinations at the Petrograd University in 1915 and 1916, I was the so-called "magistrant." After the successful defense of the dissertation I became "magister" of Civil Law. Even before the defense of the dissertation, after the end of the magister examinations in St. Petersburg (Petrograd) in 1916, I was offered a position of extraordinary Professor of Civil Law in Perm, where a branch of the Petrograd University was opened.

For opening a new university, it was necessary in the pre-revolutionary Russia to issue a special law. All universities were "Imperial" universities with some special rights, privileges, and with budgets secured by the state.

The necessary formalities for opening a university in Perm were not observed because of the conditions of the World War I, and the new university was established as a branch of the Petrograd University. As I remember, I told you already that I was in Perm and declined the offer.

The degree of magister was practically not necessary for me, as I had already a professor's position in Harbin, but it was a pretext for going to Europe with a support from the Harbin College of Law.

Professor Tahl, whom I knew in St. Petersburg and who was at that time professor of sociology of law at the Berlin University, offered me to defend my dissertation in Berlin. Professor Sinaiskii, professor of civil law at the Riga University, wrote a review of my book, which he praised very highly. I could have defended it in Riga, but I preferred Paris as a more attractive center.

Raymond: Did you publish your opening speech?

Guins: My opening speech was not published. I did not write it down, and I delivered it orally as I usually did on the basis of the prepared plan. But I wrote in Harbin after my return a book in which I developed the new ideas which I could formulate and illustrate on the basis of various materials collected in Italy, France, and Germany.

The title of my book is On the Way to the State of the Future (From Liberalism to Solidarism). About the destiny of that my book I will tell you later.

Raymond: Professor Guins! In Europe you could meet many Russian emigres. Maybe you will be so kind as to share some impressions of your meetings.

Guins: You could be surprised to know that the same question was offered to me by my colleagues, professors in Paris, during the dinner after the defense of my dissertation. I told them that I was surprised by the irreconcilability of various groups.

There was, besides the Academic Group which accepted my dissertation for the defense, another similar organization headed by Professor Miliukov. This latter group consisted of his political followers and partisans. I attended once in Paris the ball organized by the Russian jurists with attorney Grechaninov at its head, and I was informed that there was in Paris another group of jurists headed by another attorney-at-law, Taslenko.

My colleagues laughed. They said that it was a vulnerable point and asked me whether there was not such a division in Manchuria. I answered that there were antagonists, like me and Ustrialov, but this did not hinder us to cooperate for the same academic purposes or social services.

Meeting Russian Emigres in Paris

I will all you some more examples. In Italy I had no chance to meet some Russians, and I don't know whether there was there such a division, but after my arrival to Paris, I went to the Russian Cathedral (on the Rue Darue), and I could see there a number of emigres.

I left the station of the Metro, according to the plan, and when I approached the cathedral I noticed a car from which went away a tall young man and an elegant lady. On the sidewalk was staying another gentleman who very respectfully welcomed the arrived pair and invited them to follow him.

They moved in the direction of the cathedral, which was close to that place. I followed them. I did not know where was the entrance. The pair entered the cathedral from a back door. I followed. It proved to be a short way to

Guins: the place which was just in front of the right side of the altar. I occupied a place behind some people who occupied the first row.

It was not difficult to recognize some persons who were standing at the same place. I recognized, for example, the count Kokovtsev, whom I saw in St. Petersburg. There was also the sister of the late Emperor. I could not recognize her as I never saw her earlier. But after the end of the funeral service somebody not far from me called her name.

I did not know, but it was a special service at the fortieth day after the death of the widow Empress Mariia Fedorovna, the Emperor's mother, and on that occasion the members of the imperial family and the former Russian high-ranking persons, like ministers and generals, were present.

I heard how somebody who was standing in the same row in which I took a place told to his neighbor, a lady looking at me, that I was a grand duke, but he could not say which one namely.

After the end of the service when it was possible to welcome each other, I heard here and there exclamations of "Your Highness," "Your Excellence," etc. I hastened to go away not only because the service was over, but also for finding a way out of the false situation. Although as a "grand duke" I could use the same short way which I used for entry, I preferred to move through the main door.

At the place quite close to the entrance I noticed my former chief in St. Petersburg, Privy Counsellor Glinka. I was interested to know whether he will recognize me, and I did not show that I recognized him. He called me by name himself.

I was glad to see him. He gave me his address and we agreed about the day of my visit with him. Several days later I approached the house whose location and number he gave me. It was very close to the Champs Elysees and proved to be a hotel.

I was surprised and at the same time glad that my former chief was living in such a nice place. But nobody at the hotel knew the name of Mr. Glinka. There was no such

Guins: a person in the hotel. Finally one of the hotel employees asked me whether the gentleman was a Russian. I nodded. Then he suggested me to go in the inner court and look for the gentleman in the out-building, saying, "There are some Russians." He was right.

It was not necessary to check. As soon as I opened the door, I heard the Russian language. On the third floor I found the card of Glinka. The old man was busy. He was sitting at the table and was filling the empty cigarette wrappers with tobacco. It proved to be his additional source of income, as he explained to me.

His main source of life was a modest salary, which he received from the Russian Red Cross. Having some amounts in the French bank, the former members of the board of the Russian Red Cross assisted the Russian emigre organizations and the former employees.

Former representatives of that organization were recognized as having the right to dispose of the deposits. The out-building at the court of the hotel had been used earlier for the employees of the hotel, but at present, as I was informed, it was hired for the Russian emigres. All the inhabitants of the house were the former high-ranking persons.

Just at that time in Glinka's apartment came his neighbor from the fourth floor, the former President of the Regional Court, Tagantsev, the son of an outstanding jurist and senator.

But what about the cigarettes? Ho it is so simple! The salary secures the meal, but if it is necessary to repair shoes it cannot be paid without an additional earning. It is not a high earning, yet it saves sometimes the situation in getting out of a difficulty.

I invited Glinka for a dinner with me. He categorically declined my invitation. He could not imagine and did not believe that such an expense would not be ruinous for me.

Raymond: You met in Paris a lot of Russian emigres, I believe?

Guins: Very many indeed. But I don't suppose that all my meetings are worthy of recording. I will summarize my impressions and try to represent some groups of Russian people, their way of life, and their expectations and political credos.

Guins: I will start from the representatives of the "old world." It was so amazing to see very modest the sister of the late Emperor, Kseniia Alexandrovna, who was standing not far from me, and the Grand Duke, who married a rich American girl and was served by a typical courtier, when I arrived to the cathedral.

The contrast was expressed in the meekness of one group and the pretentiousness of the other. I reminded myself of the modest apartment of the widow Empress, whose death was marked in the cathedral. There were the same contrasts between one group of the former high-ranking persons and another, like the former ambassador in Italy, Giers, whom I visited on occasion of a gala reception at his apartment.

Guests were raising and descending incessantly, some of them were invited to one living room, and the others, as myself, to a more modest room. The ambassador wanted to see me and he gave me the address of the office where he will receive me. He was a man who was anxious not to lose his prestige; he probably still did not lose all hope.

For a contrast it will be enough to refer to Glinka, whose conditions of life I have described. I met him for the second time on the staircase of the apartment occupied by Giers, already descending together with B. Ivanitskii, former deputy Minister of Agriculture, member of the State Council, and one of the heads of the Russian Red Cross from which Glinka received his modest salary. Glinka introduced me to Ivanitskii referring to my past. "He was ours," he said.

Among the prosperous was the former Director of the Department of Industry in Russia, Litvinov-Falinskii, in London. He had a large family, and he was living in a large apartment. On the other hand, Tkhorzhevskii told me that he had money only from time to time, and that he left Paris and visited his family on the Riviera only when he had money.

But he could not be called a typical Russian bureaucrat in emigration. He remained a man of exclusive and varied gifts. He wrote books and poems, edited Russian magazines, co-worked with Gukasov, an oil industrialist. He invited me to come to the Trade-Industrial Bank, and I had to wait for him until he finished an urgent work. This time he

Guins: was with money and invited me to a good Russian restaurant, in which his brother, a former officer of the Russian army, earned money singing in the evenings.

Among the former Russian scholars it was possible to meet some prosperous ones. Such ones were mostly rare specialists. I met such a one in London. He was in Russia a professor of the Military Medical Academy, and in London he was invited to work in conformity with his speciality in the British medical institution.

Baron A. F. Meiendorf, former Privat-docent of the St. Petersburg University, had a constant position at the London University. Professor of International Law, A. Pilenko, was working as one of the night editors in a French newspaper in Paris. But some others, like Gronskaa, contributor to the Poslednie Novosti (Les Dernieres Nouvelles), and N. S. Timashev, contributor to the newspaper Vozrozhdenie (La Renaissance), who were giving simultaneously lectures, did not live in need, yet only on the basis of a strict economy.

Professor of International Law Baron B. Nolde and Professor of Civil Law Eliashvich were prosperous not so much because they were scholars, but because cooperating together they earned fat sums for consultations and legal assistance in legal cases.

Just the same was in Germany Professor Kaminka and Professor Tahl, who were prosperous, but many other members of the Russian Academic Group had to be cautious for making both ends to meet. Some of my friends, supposing that I came to Europe with a plan to reside there, suggested to me to go to Latvia or Estonia where Russian emigres were living not as strangers, being surrounded with former Russian citizens knowing Russian language and having interest and respect as regards Russian culture and science.

My compatriots in Europe, including Glinka for example, could not imagine that I will spend for returning to China such a large sum which could secure their life for at least a year.

I want to add some words about the Russian politicians. In Paris, which at that time was the main center of the Russian emigres, I visited Maklakov, Miliukov, and Guchkov. I visited Maklakov as the former ambassador of the Provisional government and the subsequent representative

Guins: of the interests of Russian emigres. He did not show any interest in my person, but during my visit entered A. J. Gouchkov and, when I was introduced, began to offer various kinds of questions and finally invited me to come to him to continue our conversation. Then Maklakov invited me too.

Raymond: What kind of questions did Gouchkov offer?

Guins: He started with the questions about the failure of the Kolchak government and his campaign, and he continued later at his suburban place of life with the moods of Russian emigres, the information about Siberia and the China-Soviet relations.

He invited me once more and introduced N. L'vov, who was the Procurator of Synod at the time of the Provisional government. He was an enthusiast of the anti-Communism and an irreconcilable initiator of subversive actions inside the Soviet Union and discreditation abroad of its international policy. I was not informed about his particular goals, but I was impressed by his energy and devotion.

Maklakov was a quite different man. He did not show any interest in the Siberian government and told more than questioned. He told me about himself. He had no interest either in Kolchak's drama or in Manchurian problems.

Raymond: Did you meet some other conspicuous politicians or diplomats during your trip in Europe?

Guins: As I have mentioned, I was invited by the former ambassador Giers. He listened to me with a great attention. He was interested mostly in the causes of the fall of the Siberian campaign and in the role of the Czechs. I had the impression that Giers did not read my book, Siberia, Allies and Kolchak, or completely forgot it. At least he was interested while Maklakov proved to be quite indifferent.

I have certainly mentioned also my visit with Miliukov. I made this visit according to the advice of Gronskii, whom I knew in St. Petersburg. He was also Privat-dócent of the university, but some years older than I was. I knew him also as a member of the State Duma. He was one of the few landowners who gave his estate to the peasants, who hired and tilled his land, and left for himself only the country house and garden plot.

Guins: Gronskaia was working in Miliukov's newspaper and offered me to arrange my meeting with his chief. I received appointment in his private apartment, not in the office. Conversation with Miliukov was very interesting.

He offered to me some questions concerning the Chinese and Japanese, and also about behavior of Soviet officials and diplomats in Manchuria and China, and he gladly satisfied my own interest by explaining his point of view on the possible changes in the Soviet Union.

His orientation was certainly anti-Communist. He could not approve dictatorship spreading its control on all branches of cultural activities and creativeness, but he did not believe in the possibility of any success of the anti-Communist activity, if any, and expected certain evolution and gradual changes.

Raymond: His belief was shared by the party headed by Miliukov?

Guins: The Constitutional Democratic Party as a whole did not exist since the exodus of the Russian intelligentsia after the victory of Bolshevism. In Berlin there was another newspaper, Rul, published under the editorship of another conspicuous member of the Constitutional Democratic Party, Hessen. Miliukov's name was odious there.

In Paris I met once a Russian professor, economist Zenkovskii, who could not speak calmly about Miliukov. Zenkovskii spoke of Miliukov as if he were a criminal.

Miliukov's position was interpreted by the irreconcilable Russian politicians as a kind of conciliatoriness (primirenchestvo), which did not correspond to Miliukov's position in fact. Probably some disaffection and disappointment found their reasons in the past when Miliukov did not show necessary flexibility and capacity to find a right line of policy.

My general impression was that in 1928 to 1929, when I was in Europe, there was developing a process of the clear division of the Russian emigration into two different groups: one, represented by the people of Guchkov's type, irreconcilable and actively anti-Communist; and the other, the people of Miliukov's type, who lost hope in a possibility of the successful struggle against Communism.

Guins: A similar division found its reflection in the existence of the military organization, the union of the former officers of the Russian army, whose leaders General Kutepov and later General Miller were abducted, and in some political groups and ideologies more inimical to militancy and disposed toward reconciling with the fact of the existence of the new order.

Each group was, in turn, divided into more conservative groups--up to the restoration of the pre-revolutionary structure--and more progressive groups --looking for some kinds of adaptation of the post-revolutionary society to more acceptable principles of state and government. There was, thus, a double bifurcation.

Raymond: Did you meet abroad some people who were ready to accept the Soviet order, or even become Communists?

Guins: When I was in Rumania, in whose territory was included at that time Bessarabia and where I was especailly for seeing my mother and close relatives, one of my friends asked me to visit a young girl and to inform him how is she living in Paris and what impression will she make on me.

I wrote her a postcard and was invited. She proved to be a convinced Communist. She blamed peasants as reactionaries who harass the progress of socialist reconstruction of the backward Russia, and she justified all forms of terror. I could not reassure my friend.

I met also read Communists, or at least Communists by their documents and education. When I arrived in Berlin I was met by the Russian student of the Berlin Electro-Technical Institute, the former classmate of my son in Harbin. He hired for me a room. I liked the room and was living there.

One of the Russian emigres, informed about my address, warned me that it was a pension in which the Soviet citizens are staying. I did not notice such kind of inhabitants among those whom I could meet during the morning breakfast.

Once, however, my host introduced to all others three newly arrived lodgers, young engineers from the Soviet Union. They were intelligent people and in general urbane, although one of them looked at all unknown persons with noticeable suspiciousness.

Guins: When they were informed that I arrived from Manchuria, they were interested to know what was the situation there. I told them that I was an employee of the Chinese Eastern Railway and that the Russian influence was there on the stage of decay.

They explained to me that they arrived for completing their education and were promised admission to the plants in which they were especially interested, as the relations between the Soviet and German governments were friendly. I did not ask them about the Soviet Union, and our meetings were usually very short.

In one week I left for Poland, and from Warsaw to Bessarabia. I wanted also to stop in Czechoslovakia, but I could not get a visa. The counsellor of the embassy in Berlin knew me in Omsk as a member of the Kolchak government. He told me, "No doubt, Mr. Minister, that you will get it soon." But the visa never came.

Professor D. Grimm, former rector of the St. Petersburg University, wrote me when I asked him to help me in getting a visa that my book on Siberia and Kolchak was "tres mal vu" in Czechoslovakia. I succeeded only to get a transit visa when going back from Bessarabia I stopped in Bucharest and visited there the Czech consulate, but I had to promise that I would not stop in Czechoslovakia. And in Prague I had only time to make a walk in the capital between two trains.

Poland and Rumania

Raymond: Had you any interesting impressions of Poland and Rumania?

Guins: In Poland I stopped mostly for visiting my teacher, Professor Petrazicki. I found him in bad shape. He left his manuscripts in the library of the Petrograd University, and when he asked to have them returned to him, the Soviet government refused him.

To reproduce what was already done, he could not. Besides, he was received in his motherland very coldly, as a Russophile. He did not give lectures at the Warsaw University, although he received an apartment in one of the University buildings. He had only a seminar. A group of

Guins: students came to his apartment for conversations.

My general impression was that after the restoration of Poland as an independent state, interrelations between the Poles and the Russians became quite normal. Nobody refused to answer when I asked in Russian about locations or means of communications.

As regards Bessarabia, it was annexed with its whole population. Almost all continued to live as they did earlier. But almost all were impoverished. The Rumanian government expropriated private estates and distributed lands among the peasants.

Retired people continued to receive pensions, but due to the depreciation of the Russian ruble, pensions became very low. Some of the officers of the Russian army served as clerks and received very small salaries.

The house in which I passed my infancy was sold and the main building was adapted for a restaurant. I once had supper there with my former friends. The house which belonged to the Marshal of nobility Krupenskii, was also sold and was divided in several parts which were rented by various traders.

Several prosperous families which I knew when I was a student in 1904 to 1909 were living in 1929, when I was there again, in the modest hired apartments.

I returned to Paris in March, defended there my dissertation in the second half of April. I do not remember the exact date. In May I was again on board a German steamer returning to Manchuria. On the eve of my departure from Paris I received information from Harbin which promised nothing good.

There were many changes. The Chinese government strengthened its control over the College of Law. The Chinese Eastern Railway refused to support it. The prospects were gloomy. But when I returned the reality proved to be much worse than I could find it.

Raymond: When your steamer stopped at various islands and ports of Africa and Asia, did you see there occasionally Russian emigres?

Guins: You have reason to offer such a question. Russian people spread after the defeat of the so-called White armies over the whole world. When I was going to Europe I was amazed to see on board a number of Russian passengers from Tsingtao. All of them were Russian ladies.

I asked one of them who they were and was informed that they were wives of the American sailors who prefer Russian girls as wives, and that they were moving to the Philippines where the liner with their husbands moved to.

In one of the South Asiatic ports, probably in Manila, I saw on the pier two Russians who competed in jugglery and amused people with their dexterity. They did it, as we later understood, as a token of friendliness toward one of their comrades, who was leaving with the same steamer.

Returning from Europe I had no such meeting with my compatriots. There were also no Chinese on board our steamer, and I felt their absence. Without such companions I could not find the way to the park in Singapore. Chinese inhabitants of the city did not answer to questions given in English.

I could not notice my Chinese companions having earlier such a kind of attitude, and therefore, there was no need to have direct contact with the local population. The unfriendliness of Chinese people was a bad symptom in connection with the last news from Harbin received almost on the eve of my departure from France.

Return to Harbin

The date of my arrival to Harbin was known only to my family. Yet the next day (I arrived in the evening) the local newspaper informed its readers about my return. Probably the same day, or the next one, I was called from the police office.

I was informed that I had to register at the police office as a newcomer, that I had to do it immediately, and that as I failed to do it in time I had to pay a fine for

Guins: violation of the existing rules. I answered by telephone that I had no time to change my tourist passport for an ordinary one. But I was told that such an excuse is not sufficient and the case would be tried by the police judge at the main office of the Harbin police.

As a result I was summoned to the police department of the city of Harbin, where less than one year before the chief of the police told me that I would be welcomed when I returned. Since that time another chief of police was appointed, and another atmosphere reigned.

The police judge declared that the regulations concerning registration must be strictly observed, and my inobservance could not be justified. He fixed the fine in the amount of twenty dollars (Manchurian dollars, of course). I did not object but told to the judge that I did not expect such a decision and had no money with me.

He told me then that I had time to go to the bank and bring money and that a policeman would accompany me. I did not wish to argue and went to the bank along the main street accompanied by a Chinese policeman. After I paid the fine several employees of the police told me that the judge and all employees were surprised that I agreed, and that I could in any case bargain and insist that the fine was too high.

That incident characterized the changes in the attitude toward former Russian high-ranking persons and the surviving psychology of the Chinese morals and manners. The Russian police officer who initiated the whole story wanted to deserve the praise of his chiefs.

Changes Affecting the Emigres

Raymond: Were there some changes which related directly to the Russian emigres?

Guins: During my absence, the Chinese administration was expanded at the expense of the Russians. Many emigres were deprived of their positions, and the situation and conditions of life were worsened for the whole Russian population of Manchuria. It was clear that the Chinese were trying to force out

Guins: Russian influence from all spheres of business and social life.

Since 1920, when the fall of anti-Communist struggles became beyond doubt, the Russian military guard was disbanded, the Russian court liquidated, the Russian post office replaced by the Chinese, and the administration of the Chinese Eastern Railway reorganized.

The municipality earlier based on the principle of representation of the Chinese Eastern Railway as the master of the territory of the city and besides of all nationalists having enterprises in the city and interested in its welfare, was reorganized into a purely Chinese administrative office with the appointed officers responsible before the higher administration rather than before the population.

Step by step the sovereign rights of the Chinese nation, violated by the treaties concluded under the pressure of the great powers, were restored. But at the same time, every privilege of the nationalities which invested their capital for the development of the borderlands was abolished. And all national minorities were subjected to the bureaucratic apparatus of the Chinese administration.

It was possible to expect some next steps. And it was not necessary to wait for the new aggressive steps of Chinese nationalism for long.

Raymond: Was it possible to foresee new steps?

Guins: I cannot answer this question because it happened too soon after my return. I did not know what were the Soviet-Chinese relations up to the moment of the spring of 1929. I could neither guess nor expect the events which I had to witness.

I do not remember how soon it was, but it seems to me that it was in a week approximately after my return, probably in the last days of May, that I was walking along the main street of the Novyi Gorod, which consisted mostly of the administrative buildings of the Chinese Eastern Railway and the houses built for the railway employees.

At that time they were occupied by employees of both Russian and Chinese nationality. I hoped to meet on the

Guins: main street somebody from my former friends and to get information about the situation. I approached the Railway Club and noticed Liu Tse Chung, who replaced me as the Chief Controller and who was deputy chairman of the Council of Supervisors of the Harbin municipality when I had been the chairman. I was glad and hailed him.

He was confused, having heard my voice and recognized me. The reasons of his confusion I understood very quickly. We were both just in front of the entrance to the garden of the Club, and I could see in the garden a large number of Chinese. Liu let me understand that the moment was the least suitable for conversation.

"A conspiracy," decided I. It was really a conspiracy. Soon it became known to everybody.

Raymond: Is it possible that a new step was coming relating to the administration of the Chinese Eastern Railway?

Guins: It was really difficult to expect a new aggressive step against the Soviet administration which conceded constantly to all claims of the Chinese administration. However, we know already that behind that conciliatory policy there were wide Communist plans taking root in China, and these plans were partly disclosed by the Chinese government.

On the other hand, the Chinese government had also its own plans of liquidation of foreign influence, foreign concessions, and first of all extraterritorial rights. What was the pretext for the bold coup of May, 1929, I did not know or probably forgot.

I know only that the Soviet administration of the Chinese Eastern Railway was forced to leave Manchuria and that the Chinese administration had in readiness a list of the new members of the administration composed of the Chinese and Russian employees with necessary experience.

Many Russian employees of lower ranks agreed to work. The Soviet citizens refused to work and were replaced, and the railway continued its normal work. However this time the Soviet government did not reconcile with such a forcible seizure of power and moved its troops into Manchuria. A possibility of war conflict was probably foreseen, and the Chinese troops were concentrated near the frontier, but they did not stand off Soviet intrusion, which was supported by the air attacks.

Guins: Chinese soldiers who never were under such kind of fire as air attacks ran away from the scene of the fighting and complained that "iron eggs are falling from the iron chicken in the sky." The retreat of the Chinese detachments was accompanied with lootings, and the population of the region of the rail concession did not know what would be better, the offensive of the Soviet troops or the flight of the Chinese troops.

Naturally the conflict ended by an agreement and new compromise. The Chinese won again as regards the increasing of the number of Chinese employees and especially of Chinese engineers in the high-ranking positions. The conflict was durable.

For those who ceased to work and had to live without earning money, it was a hard test. Both sides were persistent. During this period the normal economic life was broken. More and more people decided to move to Shanghai or other cities. Many enterprises which supplied the railway did not receive orders on which they reckoned; contractors remained without contracts.

Changes in the College of Law

Raymond: How did that story affect your life?

Guins: Not this story but the changes relating to the College of Law affected me, as I told earlier. I had already in Paris disagreeable news about the College of Law, in whose destiny I was then interested more than in anything else.

The Chinese administration spread its influence on all Russian educational institutions including the institutions of higher learning. A Chinese was appointed to the post of Rector of the College of Law. He was at the same time director of the Department of Education of the so-called special region of the three eastern provinces of China.

This region was at the same time the region of the concession of the Chinese Eastern Railway. Although this new rector did not interfere into our purely academic activity, such as programs, requirements for graduating, etc., he considered himself as abserver and commander as regards economic and financial affairs: distribution of subsidies, purchase of books for the library, hiring of clerks, and their salaries.

Guins: He demanded, for example, from me after my return a report about how I had spent the subsidy which I received for my trip to Europe. I answered him that I received money from the faculty and would report to the council of professors. He did not repeat his demand.

Interference of the Chinese administration into all branches of life was, at that time, so persistent that we could expect even a more drastic change. Professor Riasanovskii, who was for a long time our dean and deserved respect of teachers, students, and administration as a good scholar, excellent teacher of law, and tactful administrator, did not wish to stay more under a new system of control, and Professor Engelfeld occupied his position.

But he also resigned in one year, and we elected Professor Nikiforov as new dean. He occupied this post up to 1939, when the College of Law ceased to exist.

Guins's Books

As for me, I began after my return to write one book after another. In 1930 was published my book Na Putiakh k Gosudarstvu Budushchego (On the Way to the State of the Future, From Liberalism to Solidarism). In this book I set forth my observations on the new trends of social and economic development of the Western countries and my philosophy of solidarism.

My main point was that it is not socialism which corresponds the needs and the normal trends of the modern world, and that socialism appeared as an antagonistic philosophy to the individualistic regime of the liberal state and liberal economy based on the obsolete laissez faire principle.

I tried to show that the modern economic life and social relations are based on solidarity of the participants united not only by the contracts but also by the consciousness of their interdependence and mutual interests.

My philosophy of social relations was originated on the observations in Turkestan. But I developed my theory of solidarism on the basis of my observations and studies in the

Guins: Western Europe, my acquaintance with the fascist ideas and with the ideas of the French sociologists and economists of the end of the nineteenth century.

Raymond: Your book was not a eulogy of Mussolini's system?

Guins: There was and is a radical difference between the fascist system and my conception. Mussolini demanded solidarity; I recommended that its existence be acknowledged or uncovered in various social relations.

I started with the phenomena which existed spontaneously in the relations connected with the use of water. Mussolini introduced his system artificially. Cooperation developed in various countries without any interference and still more without any coercion from the part of the government.

Also, the German industrialists united themselves for coordination of their economic policy according to their own initiative and in conformity with their mutual interests.

Raymond: Why do you use the word "solidarism", which is a word not used in English?

Guins: I wrote my book when I was not sufficiently familiar with the English language, and besides, this term was used in French literature and by the writers and scholars whose names were popular, as, for example, the economist Charles Gide, or the French statesman, Leon Bourgeois.

Finally, I wanted to use a term which indicates an ethical basis, solidarity, as a foundation of the recommended system. Solidarity is a principle based on the consciousness of the common interest, while fascism prescribes the solidarity in the form invented by the government.

Fascist states organize workers and entrepreneurs, while the democratic state is only a mediator between the existing organizations in the case of conflicts which contradict interests of the other social groups or the state itself.

From my point of view, my book could be still of interest because it did not repeat what was already written by other writers, whose names I gave, but informed about various phenomena of the modern world, of the world of the middle of the twentieth century.

Raymond: Did you publish another work during the same time?

Guins: Immediately after I finished and published my book on solidarism I began to write a book which could be entitled "An Introduction to the Study of Law and State." In Germany the works of that kind had the title Ein fuhrung in die Rechtswissenschaft. I preferred the title Novge idei v prave i osnovnye problemy sovremennosti (New Ideas in Law and the Main Problems of our Time).

The first volume was published in 1931 and the second in 1932. The content of this work with its 654 pages is too complex for its characterization in several sentences. Unfortunately the second volume appeared when the conditions in Manchuria became still worse for the creative cultural working of the Russian emigres and their educational institutions.

Conditions for the Emigres Worsen

Raymond: What happened then?

Guins: It was an accident after which a new period set in in Manchuria. It was in 1931. Marshal Chang Tso-lin perished in a railway catastrophe returning from Peking to Mukden. It is necessary to remind you who was Marshal Chang. I do not know his past exactly and will not, therefore, repeat various gossips which I heard.

At the time when I arrived in Harbin in 1920, Chang Tso-lin had been already one of the powerful war lords in China. Under his control were three rich provinces whose capitals were Tsitsikar, Girin, and Mukden. His residence was in Mukden.

Some of the Russian officers from among Russian emigres were enlisted in his military forces. Marshal Chang was not a partisan of leftist political groups. He did not support the Kuomintang, the party of the followers of Sun Yat-sen, and when the latter was on his death bed he said, "If, though I hope it will not occur, he nevertheless will die, this will be a great luck." Such a typically Chinese expression, formulating subjective sympathy and objective condemnation, characterized the political views of the Marshal.

Guins: Mukden was located between Korea (Chosen) and the region occupied by the South Manchurian Railway, both under the domination of Japan. The marshal was under the protection of the Japanese and on the side of the enemies of the Communists and the Soviet government. That was the reason for the interference of the Soviet administration of the Chinese Eastern Railway in the conflict between Chang Tso-lin and U Pei-foug.

It was a fatal decision of Marshal Chang to move to Peking. He wanted to dispose the central point of the Chinese republic. When the train, one of the coaches of which occupied Marshal Chang, was approaching one of the tunnels, there was an explosion just at the place where at that moment was moving the carriage with the Marshal.

He was killed. At the same tunnel just where the explosion took place there was at that time a Japanese colonel. He perished also. The death of a high-ranking military person gave the right to suppose a chance character of the explosion.

The Japanese emperor expressed his grief over the tragic accident in which perished the Chinese marshal and a distinguished Japanese colonel. Yet some suspicions continued to exist that everything was arranged by the Japanese militarists.

Japanese Military Takeover of Manchuria

It was supposed that the Japanese army, the so-called Kwantung Army, whose headquarters were in Port Arthur and Dairen and which controlled the life of Manchuria, was anxious observing how the Chinese administration deprived the Russian (Soviet at that time) administration of the Chinese Eastern Railway of its prerogatives, including the appointment of the railway employees.

Probably the Japanese were afraid that the Chinese after their success in northern Manchuria will try to start the same movement in southern Manchuria. Anyhow, soon after

Guins: the accident on the railway about which I just told, the Kwantung Army started their invasion into northern Manchuria.

Raymond: Could it not provoke the Soviet government to resist?

Guins: Theoretically such kind of resistance was probably. And it would be possible that the Japanese would then stop their offensive. But on the part of the Soviets there were no protests, no opposition. At that time the Japanese were sure that the Soviets would not resist if they started their aggression.

In fact, after the Chang Tso-lin accident followed the Japanese troop movement to the north against the Chinese marshals of the provinces of Tsitsikar and Girin and their entrance into Harbin.

Before the appearance of the Japanese I could notice some interest of the Japanese military people in the suburbs of Harbin. I should say that my hobby at that time was horseback riding, which I did three times a week on a rented horse. I rode on tours around Harbin or to more or less distant parts.

Once during my trip I noticed a car with a Japanese general and another military man. They obviously made their tour around Harbin. They stopped at the place where the Japanese were building a monument, a memorial for Japanese who perished there probably during the Russo-Japanese War.

However this memorial, as it proved later, served for indicating to the approaching troops an important strategic position. Probably everything had been prepared and the general made a tour for working out his plan for the entrance of the Japanese troops.

The monument had been erected in the southern part of the city of Harbin, and the Japanese troops moved from the south. The monument was at the same time close to the branches of the railway which went around the city, passed Old Harbin, and turned to the east, in the direction of Vladivostok.

There was no doubt that everything was prepared in advance. The Japanese were just waiting for the time when they could start this without risking war with the Soviets.

Guins: When the Japanese military plan was realized, the Soviets began negotiations in Tokyo about the sale of the Chinese Eastern Railway. These negotiations ended only in 1935, and since that time the Japanese concentrated the managing of the Chinese Eastern Railway in their hands.

It was formally a mutual Chinese-Japanese administration. However, the whole of Manchuria was already in the hands of the Japanese. All of Manchuria was transformed into an independent state--Manchukuo--with an emperor at its head.

As emperor ascended the throne the offspring of the former Chinese imperial family, Pu Yi. He was earlier transported from Peking to Japan, in accordance certainly with the plans prepared beforehand. The factual master of the situation was the chief commander of the Japanese troops in Manchuria whose residence was Dairen.

Premeditated campaigns, well-prepared and planned, and the superiority of the Japanese military forces let the Japanese accomplish their plans very quickly. The Japanese occupation of Manchuria met some resistance from the Chinese governor-generals, but it was not very strong.

Yet the Russian inhabitants were agitated because the possibility of various complications seemed not to be excluded. One of them could be an intervention from the part of the Soviets. And in that case nobody could imagine what might happen.

Raymond: How can you explain the fact that the Soviets did not interfere?

Guins: If I can guess, I have to refer to the fact that the Japanese did not interfere when the Soviet manager of the Chinese Eastern Railway was arrested in 1926 nor when Soviet troops crossed the frontier and opened fire in 1929. The Japanese could not but be pleased that the relations between the Chinese and the Soviets were becoming inimical, and the Soviet diplomats did not find it necessary to support Chinese who did not sympathize with Communism.

They preferred to be patient and to wait for the subsequent changes. Such an interpretation found its approval by the subsequent events. I cannot say that I understood in such a manner the Japanese and Soviet diplomacy as far as I know at present because of what I could not know in 1935.

Guins: What I knew then it that Russian people were glad when the Japanese troops entered Harbin, for they could expect riots of Chinese soldiers in which they would be defenseless against pillages and violence. When the Japanese troops arrived, some part of the population met them rather cheerfully, thinking that this would be the end of the period of anxiety and uncertain future.

They also supposed that there would be more order supported by the Japanese police, administration, and troops. This was not the general attitude though, but perhaps of the largest part of the Russian population, which consisted of anti-Communists who preferred and estimated the Japanese order as more preferable than the Chinese.

But such expectations were not justified. The Japanese regime in this part was more exacting and more aggressive in its nationalist character than the Chinese. The Japanese period was described in my article which was published in the Russian Review in 1943 under the title "Russians in Manchuria."

Source of Livelihood

Raymond: I should like to ask you in this connection what happened to you personally after you lost your job as chief controller of the Chinese Eastern Railway and what you personally did for a living until the departure from Manchuria?

Guins: I had my own house in which I was living and, besides, I had a small revenue leasing one of the two apartments. One was occupied by my brother and his family. As a professor of the College of Law and dean of the legal department, I received salary.

As a jurist I earned from time to time good fees for consultations and law cases. The best one was the case between the German Bank (Deutsche und Disconto Gesellschaft Bank) versus Tchurin and Company, a universal store. I received more than 7,000 yen.

I was also invited to be a member of the board of directors of a small Russian Houseowners' Bank. For several months I replaced the editor of the Russian newspaper Zaria

Guins: in Harbin and wrote for that newspaper articles, later collected, systematized, and published in the form of a book in 1941 under the title Quo Vadis Europa?

In total I had sufficient income for living in one's own house, very modestly of course but without need. But I had to support at first one and since 1932 two sons who received higher education abroad, one in Belgium and the other at first in Hong Kong and later in Ann Arbor, Michigan.

In Belgium it was enough to have \$25.00 per month; in the United States it was not enough. The exchange rate for the Manchurian dollar, the so-called gobi, was more and more unfavorable. During the last years I had to pay for \$25.00 at least two hundred gobi, and that was no less than one half of my monthly budget.

Once I sold to the Hoover Library, which earlier acquired my archives, the Collection of Laws of the Far Eastern Republic, and the library transferred the purchase price to my son in Ann Arbor. Another time I sent the biography of Ataman Semenov, I warned the Hoover Library that it was only edited by me but prepared without my participation and that I was not responsible for the content.

Finally, I had an insurance policy with the West Coast Insurance Company for twenty years, and I borrowed about one thousand dollars. No wonder that leaving Manchuria I could take with me after all expenses connected with the transportation only \$200 cash and arrived in San Francisco with \$72.00.

I was living with my son who had at that time a very modest position as a mechanical engineer with the Jacuzzi Pump Company in Berkeley, California. But let me return to my reminiscences about the life in Manchuria after its occupation by the Japanese.

The Manchurian Emperor

Raymond: You say "occupation." Was it really so from the formal point of view?

Guins: Manchuria had been soon reorganized into a new empire-- Manchukuo. As its emperor was proclaimed Pu Yi, the offspring of the former dynasty. For a long time since the overthrow of the imperial government in 1911, Pu Yi, then a young man, was living in one of the buildings in the "Forbidden City," a beautiful center of the old capital.

The "Forbidden City" was surrounded by a high stone wall. It consisted of a number of palaces and temples, many of which were in their turn also separated from each other. This vast place had been open for visitors only, who entering through the main entrance gradually approached to the main palace, crossing inner squared, rising stairs at the entrances of a number of buildings until reaching the former emperor's palace.

Once during my tour in the "Forbidden City" I passed by the modest building where Pu Yi was living. Through the window of one of the rooms of that building one could see a number of various clocks of different sizes and forms. We were told that the former prince was a collector of all kinds of clocks and watches.

The Japanese, when they had a great influence in the old Chinese capital, took Pu Yi to Japan. When he became the emperor of the newly organized empire, all honor was shown to him. When, for example, he and his entourage were driving through his new capital, Hsinking, all windows looking onto the street along which the procession was moving had to be closed, and nobody had the right to look through the window under the threat of a severe punishment.

If the emperor visited another town or city, the police conducted searches at the apartments of various persons and even arrested some suspicious persons for planning an attempt on the life of the sacred person. Such a procedure was applied, obviously, for expressing to certain persons that they were considered as not quite loyal.

The emperor had to come to Harbin. To my surprise a search was conducted even in my apartment. About six or seven persons came together and among them I recognized one Russian police officer dressed in a Russian shirt instead of a uniform.

Nothing was found or taken, but special attention was given to the room where was living the daughter of Vologodskii, Zina, whom my wife took after his death and whom we

Guins: treated as a member of our family. After graduating from the middle school of the Y.M.C.A. in Harbin, she was in the United States, graduated from the Winston Salem College in North Carolina, and returned to us. She was teaching English at that time in the Y.M.C.A. school from which she had graduated several years before.

One of the policemen paid attention to the letter with the U. S. stamp. It was an announcement about the forthcoming marriage of Zina's classmate in Winston Salem.

On my desk the policeman found a small wooden box of Japanese work and inside a small steel Samurai helmet, a gift which I received from a Japanese major of the general staff who was living at the house of our friend, a Russian engineer, and who visited us sometimes.

In the desk box there were among other things a Russian decoration and cross in the name of Saint Vladimir of the fourth rank, with swords and bows, one of the most honorable Russian decorations. It was not mine but of my uncle, who received it during the war. It was given to me after his death in remembrance.

The Russian policeman was obviously impressed, supposing that it was mine. He was still more impressed finding another souvenir which he probably took for a decoration. It was an imitation, looking however like a silver star with a colored stone in its center. Such stars had only persons of very high ranks.

I had only a jewelry, neither silver nor with a stone, issued by a benefactory organization and distributed as a token of gratitude for the large donations during the war.

During the search I accompanied the police agents, while the chief of the searching group preferred to speak with my wife, who informed him about our life in Russia and Siberia. I was told that the search took place because of the forthcoming arrival of the emperor of Manchukuo to Harbin and that the order was received from the capital to seize the arms kept by the private persons. I understood that it was only a pretext to suggest to the foreigners that they were under observation.

Raymond: What kind of man was the emperor? Had you any information about him?

Guins: According to Confucius (K'ung Fu-tse), an ideal emperor is not obliged to do anything. His most significant function is "to sit on the throne with a majestic importance." Pu Yi probably had not even such importance for show. But he was an offspring of the imperial dynasty, and his existence was, or at least seemed to be, of great significance, as it did not let anyone accuse Japan of the forcible annexation of the Chinese territory.

Yet the League of Nations dispatched an international commission headed by Litton for investigation. As one could expect, Japan ignored the conclusions of the commission. Among the staff of that commission there was a Russian, Mr. V. D. Pastukhov, with whom we became very friendly later in Washington, D. C. He was in the staff of the United Nations Relief and Rehabilitation Administration (UNRRA) and later in the United Nations.

But I did not answer your question about Pu Yi. I imagine him as an ordinary man without any ambitions and incapable to protest or insist. However, when the Japanese tried to persuade him to divorce his Chinese wife and marry a Japanese princess, he refused and did not divorce.

I know only one man who had a chance to see and speak to the emperor of Manchukuo. It was Nicholas Roerick, the outstanding Russian artist. He told me that the emperor explained to him sincerely that he understood his false situation but that he decided to accept the high position and thus to support Manchukuo as a compromise more preferable than direct annexation.

Covert Japanese Control of the Government

The situation was a false one indeed. The real master of the situation was the commander-in-chief of the Kwantung Army with headquarters in Dairen. There was a Chinese premier, but he transferred his seal to his Japanese deputy premier and boasted that he survived several changes in the government because he did not interfere in the activity of his Japanese deputy.

In China and probably in Japan, any document must have the seal of a corresponding institution or of the chief of the institution. He who has the seal is at the same time

Guins: the person who decides or approves the decision. Ministers in Manchukuo were Chinese, but the real ministers were their Japanese deputies.

There were many Chinese officials in all departments of the ministries. But at five o'clock, when officially the administrative institutions were to be closed, one could notice that all Chinese were leaving their offices but all Japanese continued to work.

Chinese employees did not fulfill any responsible functions. Such was the Chinese empire, Manchukuo.

Raymond: What was the provincial system of administration? Was it also based on the prevalence of the Japanese officials?

Guins: According to my impressions it was exactly the same as regards the most significant administrative institutions. In the courts were Chinese judges, but in the superior courts Japanese judges prevailed. I noticed that sometimes the Japanese administrative persons interfered into the competence of the courts.

Once it was in my presence, and I was very embarrassed by the rough form in which a Japanese administrative official reproached the Chinese judge. In the police offices the domination of Japanese did not leave any doubts.

As a general conclusion I could say that in Harbin the Japanese military mission was the center of administrative power. According to my impression, all administrative institutions were under control of the Japanese mission. I had several chances to experience that.

Raymond: How to explain that you, in spite of your connections with many influential Japanese officials and your public service, were subject to such an act as the search of your home?

Guins: I wish I could know what were the real motives for such an act. I can but guess without being sure that my explanation would be exact. First of all, the search took place soon after the departure to the Soviet Union of the brother of my wife.

He arrived from there and he did not wish to remain in Manchuria, whose future nobody could predict. I was at the

Guins: station for farewell, and it was a special train with many sincere sympathizers of the Soviet Union. I heard even warnings--"We will come back. Be careful."

When I began to practice law I had two cases against Japanese institutions. In one case I won time for my client, whose house had to be sold for paying his debts. In the other I succeeded to register the right of my client on the property, and that strengthened the position of my client.

I should acknowledge that I was disappointed later in my client and am not sure that he had the right to which he pretended. If I knew that earlier, I would not have helped him. There were also some other cases, in which the interest of the Russian people was in conflict with the claims of the Japanese institutions.

The second circumstance was that I not only did not ask for any position in the institutions of administrative character controlled by the Japanese but even declined some proposals. Some of my colleagues--Professors Engelfeld, Nikiforov, and Esperov--were working in the Japanese institutions. I did not.

It was much later than the time of the organization of the Manchukuo when the Russo-Manchurian University was established. I was not invited to teach there, and my colleagues who insisted on my invitation were told that Professor Guins was not a "sincere man." It should be translated as a man whose orientation is not clear.

The father of my daughter-in-law had a position of inspector at the Y.M.C.A. middle school. He told me that a Russian policeman asked him what was my connection with that American school. Vologodskii's daughter who, as I have told already, was educated and bred in my family as a daughter, completed her education in the U. S. My second son was a student in Ann Arbor, Michigan. All that did not dispose the Japanese in my favor.

I remained independent while every person employed by the Japanese institutions was losing independence. He could not leave his service without permission, and it could be difficult for him to leave Manchuria because he was supposed to know something useful for the enemies.

Guins: The Japanese organized in Harbin and Tientsin special offices for registration of Russian emigres. When some of the influential Japanese were asked why the Japanese administration did not invite for heading those organizations outstanding Russians instead of some young men or people having no special prestige, they received such an answer: "Nam ne nuzhno tadantlivkh, nam nuzhno poslushnykh." ("We don't need gifted people, we need obedient ones.")

Raymond: What do you know about your brother-in-law who left for the U.S.S.R.?

Guins: His last letter was: "When we arrived and wanted to go to Crimea, we could not. At present it is possible, but we have no means." Soon afterwards Germans invaded the Soviet Union. We lost any vestiges of contact and had no news from him.

Raymond: How did you appraise the Japanese system and administration?

Guins: I was twice in Japan and met many Japanese officials of high rank--Japanese intellectuals, professors, writers, and judges. I had a chance to see the industrious and non-prosperous farmers, as well as Japanese adventurers, colonizers in Manchuria, where they wanted to enrich themselves as soon as possible, and the colonial civil officers who treated Chinese of low classes as the European colonizers did in Africa, Latin America, etc.

Manchuria became in fact a rich colony at the disposal of the Japanese nation. China did not reconcile with that situation, and Japan had to fight for securing her domination.

All that must be taken into consideration when an appraisal of the Japanese people and their administration is offered. I had and keep my best impression from the Japanese nation in its whole. It was not only erroneous policy which has created inimical relations between Japan and China, it was a fateful event and a great misfortune for all peoples interested in peace and welfare of Asia.

As regards the administration in Manchukuo, it was well-organized. At the head of the central organs of the new state were competent people. It was a pleasure to discuss with them various business problems.

Guins: The new capital was constructed on the place where was only a small Chinese settlement, Kuang Chen Tsi. It was earlier a border between Russian North Manchurian and Japanese South Manchurian railways. When such a division was established after the conclusion of the peace treaty after the Russo-Japanese War of 1904 to 1905, there were constantly various negotiations between the representatives of the two railways. There was competition, but both sides respected each other.

After the occupation of Manchuria there appeared many Japanese adventurers not deserving eulogy, but it is necessary to remember that it was the time of war between Japanese troops and the forces of Chiang Kai Shek, and of unfriendly relations between Japan and the Soviet government, which for Japan was a Russian government. About these relations we have still to tell.

The Chinese Eastern Railway During the Occupation

Raymond: You did not say, Professor Guins, what happened to the Chinese Eastern Railway after the occupation of northern Manchuria by the Japanese. It seems to be very interesting how the Japanese and the Soviet administrations could cohabitate in the same region.

Guins: Exactly. We have a good saying in Russian: "Two bears cannot cohabitate in the same den." Instead of having constant troubles, the Soviet government decided to sell its rights on the concession to the Manchukuo, or in fact to Japan.

It should be also in conformity with the general line to leave Japanese and Chinese directly one in the front of the other. That was the Soviet diplomacy of the long run, as I understood it.

The negotiations took place in Tokyo and continued about three years. Only in 1935, the treaty was concluded and the Soviet administration started to remove from Manchuria everything that it could. The management was assumed by the directors of the South Manchurian railway, and soon, contrary to the conditions of the treaty, the broad gauge of the Russian type of railway track was replaced on the whole line

Guins: with a narrow gauge of the Japanese track. Afterwards the trains of the South Manchurian railway could move up to the northern point of the railway, while the Russian locomotives and carriages could not enter the line.

After the change of the management the railway came completely into the Japanese hands. Both Chinese and Russian employees remained mostly in the subsidiary positions. Economic life of the whole of Manchuria became consequently dependent on the Japanese economic policy, as the railway served as the main artery of the vast country.

There was no more competition between the two branches of the same railway line, and Dairen as a sea port could draw off much freight from Vladivostok. The amount paid to the Soviet government, partly in cash, partly in goods, was much less than the cost of the railway, but the Soviets had their own plan. And those who knew that plan warned those who decided not to leave Manchuria that their life and freedom from the Soviet regime would be ephemeral.

Exodus of Russians from Manchuria

In the meantime the exodus from Manchuria had the character of a flight. One train followed the other. Those who were leaving tried to take with them all their belongings and to acquire various new things, of which they knew there was a shortage in the Soviet Union.

Among those who were leaving were some professors. Among them were not only Setnitskii and Trifonov, who arrived from the Soviet Union, but emigres--Ustrialov and Ershov. Ustrialov decided that his ideology of the "landmarks change" obliged him to leave. He hoped that he would survive, and in that case his destiny would prove that his ideas were vorrect.

To his friends he told, "I must sacrifice myself." He perished in the Soviet Union, as did many if not all other partisans of the collaboration with the Soviets. At first he was living without troubles in Moscow, walking and enjoying life. He was even permitted to publish in the Soviet Izvestiia his article on Herzen. As always the

Guins: article was well-written and without adaptation to the Soviet trends.

Nevertheless, he was once invited to the Lubyanka, had to stay in the corridor as usual in attention without knowing for what he was invited. After an hour of waiting and the interrogation, he returned home and suddenly died. Such was the information that reached me and as much as I know from Japanese sources.

Raymond: How did you like him? What was his impact on students?

Guins: I do not remember whether I characterized the main difference between his and my approach to the problem of the attitude toward Bolshevism and the Soviet government. It would nevertheless not be useless to emphasize once more that Ustrialov's political ideology was based on the purely formal nationalistic feeling.

He insisted that the Soviet regime can and will restore the prestige and power of Russia as a nation and therefore we, Russian patriots, have to support it.

My approach was based on the appraisal of the ethical basis of the government and its methods of governing: the forceful collectivization, terror as a system of extermination of opposition, and the abolition of all human freedoms.

Partisans of Ustrialov characterized such kind of democratism as a typical liberal-egalitarian outlook which was criticized by Constantin Leontiev and satirist Saltykov-Shchedrin.

You asked me about the impact of Ustrialov's philosophy on students. I heard many times that our audience consisted of two large groups: partisans of Ustrialov, and partisans of Guins. This related certainly not to all students, but mostly to those interested in political problems.

But I must add that students attended lectures of Professor Ustrialov with more interest because his courses on state law and philosophy of law were given more often on the up-to-date problems in conformity with the subjects: the forms of government, the correlations between the state and the individual, and the philosophies of right and might, of progress and regress.

Guins: My courses on Roman law and commercial law were more specialized, but I discussed many problems of great significance, such as free economy on the basis of individual freedom and individual rights of property, free contracts as a manifestation of free disposal of property, family ties and succession. And as a contrast I characterized the centralized economy and regimentation of the Soviet economic system.

You have asked me about our personal relations with Ustrialov. In Harbin we were living in such conditions that we had to respect any honest conviction. We taught in front of not only children of our compatriots but before the Chinese and Japanese students, and we showed an example of tolerance and freedom of thought.

When we were on the stage during the public discussions we were inimical, sometimes sarcastic while criticizing each other. After the discussion we suppered together as good friends. Each one could be wrong. I do not believe that I was always right.

Raymond: You told about the departure of your brother-in-law. But how did he arrive to Harbin?

Guins: We purchased his freedom. It was, I believe, in 1926. He was living in the Soviet Ukraine. At that time the Soviet government was in need of foreign exchange, and it was possible to transfer a certain amount of American dollars and thus to secure to the relative or friend the permission for the departure from the Soviet Union.

We did it. My brother-in-law arrived, graduated from the College of Law, had a position on the railway. But when the Chinese Eastern Railway was sold to the Japanese he preferred to return, as he did not believe that his work under the Japanese would satisfy him more than any work in the Soviet Union.

It happened that by the same train was leaving Harbin Professor of Philosophy Ershov. I approached him for saying farewell. He was, as I noticed, very confused and even unfriendly, as if I had been a stranger. I understood that he was afraid that such kind of friendliness from my part could discredit him in the eyes of the Communists, who could

Guins: witness such kind of nearness to a counter-revolutionary.

Maybe it did not discredit him, but my attendance at the station and farewell to the departing people probably discredited me, as the search in my apartment followed, as I told you, soon after the departure of my relative.

Raymond: Do you suppose that the Soviet government could foresee World War II and the defeat of Japan?

Guins: In one of the novels by the Soviet writer Pavlenko, it was very clearly set forth the preparation of the Russian Far East for a military conflict with Japan.

Emigre Organizations in Harbin

Raymond: What kind of organizations existed in Harbin? I mean organizations of the Russian emigres.

Guins: The Cossacks were organized into a Cossacks' Union. There were organizations for officers of the same regiment or graduated from the same school, Alexandrovtsy, for example, for graduates of the Alexander military school. The artillery officers were united in their own group.

Raymond: I have read in a number of books and have talked to different emigres who were in Harbin at that time who said that especially in the later periods the Japanese put a lot of pressure on the Russians to become members of the political organizations like "belyi dom" (White Home) in Tientsin or the Emigre Bureau in Harbin. Was everybody forced to take an active political role?

Guins: No. Nobody was directly forced. But the Japanese were interested in their existence, especially when there were various groups, because the "divide and govern" principle was very practical.

The Ukrainians were organized separately. They, for instance, had their own club in which they organized meetings. There were also professional organizations: physicians and surgeons, engineers. I was chairman of the academic group whose members could be those who had the

Guins: right to be professors according to the pre-revolutionary requirements. Academic groups were originally organized in Western Europe. The oldest and central academic group was in Prague. At present such a one still exists in Paris, France.

Raymond: The last question I have is this: what would you say were some of the more permanent contributions to science and culture, some of the lasting contributions which came out of the Russian emigre period in Harbin? Did this group contribute anything to the world of science and culture?

Guins: No, I don't know works of such a significance. Under the conditions of Harbin life, in spite of the fact that we had many outstanding people there, the group was not sufficient to undertake any large-scale plans.

Raymond: We talked about outstanding scientists, outstanding artists from many countries and many periods. Were there any such from Harbin--outstanding sportsmen, outstanding painters?

Guins: No. To my best knowledge there were only accidental visitors from outside, not the local talents. Chaliapin was one of such visitors. Vertinskii had a success. I want to mention also such an artist as Roerikh. His arrival to Harbin was a great event, but one which became also an academic scandal.

A group of professors from the Faculty of Law and their dean decided to invite him to be present at the public meeting which instantly had to be organized by the faculty. There were among the group professors who arrived from the Soviet Union and those who at that time had accepted Soviet passports, among them Riazanovskii, Ustrialov, Surin, and some others who accepted Soviet passports because they continued to work with the Soviet administration on the railway and had good positions.

There was an alternative: it was necessary either to leave their positions or to accept a Soviet passport. As you know, I did not take a Soviet passport, but there were many others who did.

When we invited Roerikh, the Soviet embassy was very angry with this invitation. Roerikh was considered an enemy of the Soviet government. Professors having Soviet

Guins: passports were instructed to protest against the invitation. But it was too late. Roerikh was already invited, and it was impossible to tell him not to come.

As a result, professors having Soviet passports left the faculty, and the College of Law continued to exist with half of its former staff. It was a deplorable fact, indeed. According to my impression, only the Japanese administration was very glad. It did not wish to liquidate an institution for higher learning, but the Soviet caprice helped them.

The Stateless Emigres

Raymond: What about the youth in Harbin--your children and other people's children? Did they feel that Harbin was a very temporary place, that their parents were forced to stay there temporarily? Where did the youth want to go--that is, those who did not want to go back to Russia?

Guins: The development of the events is the best answer. We arrived at the time when we believed that we would return to Russia. Then the Communists came to us and asked us to return. Subsequently the Chinese influence began to grow at the expense of the Russian influence, and finally the Japanese put even more pressure on everything Russian.

The only prospect we had for our children was either to return to Russia or to go abroad.

Raymond: And abroad meant America and Europe?

Guins: I secured higher education to one of my sons in Belgium and to the other in the United States. Both are engineers in the United States at present.

Raymond: So there was an effort, a tendency, by the young people, especially young people who were well-educated, to find permanent homes elsewhere?

Guins: There was no choice.

Raymond: Harbin ceased to be considered a permanent base for the Russian colony?

Guins: It ceased to be considered permanent, and there were many who left Manchuria for the Soviet Union after graduation from the Faculty of Law.

Raymond: When did you personally, Professor Guins, begin to doubt that you would ever be able to go back to Russia--a Russia which would not be a Communist state? When did this first start?

Guins: Since the appearance of the Soviets on the board of directors of the Chinese Eastern Railway, it became quite clear for me that my life in Manchuria was only temporary and that I will have to think about the future, where to go.

When I left for Europe to defend my dissertation, I already had conversations in Europe where I might find a position. I was told about a chance to give a course in Kovno, for example, in Lithuania; the other advised me to go to Riga.

But, from my point of view, to go to one of the small states which earlier were parts of Russia would be no less dangerous for an emigre with my political past than to remain in Harbin.

Raymond: Why?

Guins: Because I could not be sure that the Soviet Union would not incorporate them again. The same happened to Bessarabia.

Raymond: Was this the reason why you did not stay in Bessarabia?

Guins: I had a visit with my mother and brother there and saw that life there was also very unfavorable for Russians. I was once invited to come to a meeting of a group of Russian intellectuals who wanted to protest against the Rumanian regime and invited me to join them.

I told them that I could not do that, that I had arrived with an American passport and that I could not interfere in what is connected with activity of their government, from which I had only a visa. I received permission from the Rumanian government to visit my parents, but not to stay there. I knew they wanted to protest because the Russians in Bessarabia were considered as a national minority.

Raymond: Were you already convinced that Communism was going to stay in Russia, or did you still have hopes that they would . . .

Guins: At this time, I could not foresee World War II. In the meantime I supposed that only a great war could bring a catastrophe to the Soviet Union, nothing else. I could not foresee World War II.

Raymond: You no longer had hopes that there would be a revolution from inside?

Guins: I could foresee only that the conditions in Manchuria will worsen. In fact, when I returned after nine to ten months of absence, everything had changed. In the Faculty of Law there already was a change of administration.

Raymond: Then tell me, Professor Guins, why did you not then at that time, in 1929 and 1930, start to go to Europe or to America? Why did you then stay in Harbin?

Guins: Why? Because the impressions of my visit were not favorable for such intentions. In Italy there was fascism, and some Italian professors with whom I had meetings told me that they are very dissatisfied with this fascist regime. Then in Germany there were symptoms of new movements. I saw these people, some with red flags, some in the brown blouses.

And in France, the conditions of life worsened in comparison with what I saw earlier when I was living in Paris before World War I, and were less favorable than in Manchuria.

Raymond: And in America?

Guins: America--I could only hope that if my sons would find something for their lives, it would be a good refuge. But I wanted to stay in Manchuria as long as it was possible, because in Harbin I could live and I could support my sons.

Raymond: They were, by this time, finished with their educations?

Guins: No. The younger son in Ann Arbor graduated only in 1940. As to the older, he enrolled in Liege in 1928.

Raymond: He never returned to Harbin?

Guins: The older after graduation returned in 1933. The younger graduated in 1940 and remained in the United States.

Raymond: Let me ask you this, Professor Guins. What made you finally decide to make your preparations for leaving Harbin and coming to America?

Guins: Well, to explain, I have to return to some four to five years of my life in Harbin before I left it.

Failure of Russian Businesses

Guins: I will start from the business conditions. After the purchase of the Chinese Eastern Railway by Manchukuo, a staggering decay of the Russian enterprises began to be manifested. Its manifestation could be observed in the liquidation of one Russian bank after the other.

The liquidation of the Russo-Asiatic Bank was the result of the impossibility to find a support during the pecuniary embarrassment. The Bank invested its assets in a promising enterprise, the Mullin coal mines, but its exploitation lagged behind the timing. The Bank had no liquid assets and was compelled to stop payments to the depositors.

The Bank possessed a very rich property, a space lot of land in the central part of the city with several valuable buildings, but it was not so easy to sell that property at the time when the prospects of the possible business development could not be predicted.

At the same time, the Japanese administration had its own plans about how to dispose of it. The fate of the Russo-Asiatic Bank was shared by another newly founded bank which was considered as a French bank but which had no real support from any large French bank.

The assets of that bank proved to be sufficient for satisfying all depositors. But at the moment of the pecuniary embarrassments it did not receive any support from the Japanese banks. The Russian businessmen were losing bank credit unless they attracted Japanese as partners.

Guins: Still one small bank, the Thriftcor Bank with the American flag continued to exist. It was founded by a Russian whose daughter was born on the board of the U.S. steamer during the crossing of the Pacific Ocean. She thus became an American citizen, in the name of which the bank was opened.

Then it was the turn of the Houseowners' bank, in which as one of the members of the board of directors was myself. When I accepted that position on the board the bank experienced already some troubles. The confidence of the depositors was shattered, and to satisfy them in case of panic would be impossible without a support from other banks, because the Houseowners' bank assets consisted of mortgages.

I examined all documents of the bank, and my impression had been that the bank, in spite of the existence of some doubtful debtors' accounts, yet could satisfy all its creditors. The board of directors decided to reorganize the bank into a shareholders' company with the idea to attract some private capitals and to transform into shares some large deposits.

However this plan met a strong opposition from the part of conservative people who had prejudice against shareholders' companies in general. Later it became necessary to do it, but it was too late. It was possible to foresee the inevitable troubles, but I could not leave the board of directors.

The directors received a very modest salary, 200 Manchurian gobi or, according to the rate of exchange in 1939, about \$20.00 per month. If I had retired it could be considered by the depositors as a symptom of my doubt about the solvency of the bank. But when the predictable moment arrived, as always unexpectedly, we could not find support from the Japanese banks, and liquidation was declared.

Besides the Japanese banks remained only the filials of the large foreign banks: National City, Hong Kong-Shanghai, one other English bank, and, certainly, the large Chinese banks. The banking system was subject to the control of the Ministry of Finance in the new capital, Hsinking, which regulated money circulation very ably.

Guins: There was no special security for the gobi, but its quotation inside the country was steadfast, and its exchange for Japanese yen was guaranteed but could be realized only through the Japanese banks under the control, or through the foreign exchange with a special permission.

In such a manner the economic life of the country became dependent on the central government without nationalizations.

Raymond: What about the commercial life and activity?

Guins: I had no data concerning the foreign firms. They could continue to export but hardly to develop import. As regards the Russian firms, the largest in northern Manchuria was the universal stores of Churin and Company. Its finances were in a poor condition, and the firm became completely dependent on the Hong Kong-Shanghai Bank.

The bank's representative occupied the post of the manager. Over the stores of the company were hoisted the British flags. As long as the stores of that company existed and could import goods from the Western Europe, competition with the Japanese import could not be paralyzed.

The Japanese measures were very drastic. The owners of the firm were arrested. I do not know under what pretext, but they were forced at last to sell their enterprise to the Japanese.

Competition from the Chinese merchants was not dangerous, and when the Churin enterprise was sold the Japanese firms opened in Harbin their large universal stores. I want to add that Churin and Company had, besides stores, also some plants, like a distillery, tobacco factory, and some others.

Its filials existed in Mukden and other less considerable centers, and the net of agents and commercial connections created during more than forty years of existence were reliable and valuable.

I ask myself at present what important in the field of economy is still not mentioned? I think it is the extracting industry. Coal and lumber were the main products which were exploited and used for both inner needs and for export. The

Guins: Japanese appraised the plans of the exploitation of the Mulin coal mines. And what the Russian Asiatic Bank did not succeed to do, the Japanese banks did. The new enterprise began to develop successfully.

As to the forest concession, some of them like the Chjalainor coal mines on the concession of the Chinese Eastern Railway on the northern border of Manchuria were acquired together with the Chinese Eastern Railway. But one of the concessions belonged to private persons, the brothers Vorontsov.

It was located on a range of the Hingan mountains, a strategically significant place, and had therefore not only economical but also political significance. The Japanese administration demanded from the Vorontsovs the transfer of their rights on the concession without compensation.

Vorontsov asked me to defend their rights. I explained in a special meeting of the Japanese officials my objections against their formal arguments that the agreement between the Soviet government and the government of Manchukuo had the force of law obligatory for all private persons and private enterprises.

The Japanese officials could not object to my formal arguments and proposed to the Vorontsovs a compromise. They accepted it. Thus all significant concessions became also concentrated into the hands of the Japanese (formally Manchukuo hands). As a result it became very difficult to find any job in the private enterprises; the economic life of the northern Manchuria became subject to the control of the government.

Raymond: Had you personally any satisfaction while living under such conditions?

Guins: You mean the conditions when the Russian institutions of higher learning had to close their doors, the Russian enterprises had to be liquidated, and the commerce curtail its operations?

Raymond: Yes. But I had in mind that you could find something that could satisfy you not only as a source of means for existence but as corresponding to your interests.

Guins: I appraise your question. It is not so easy to answer, but I hope that I can do it. First of all, not everything depends on the will of a man who is under the wheels of the elemental forces or of a world shaken to its foundation. Under such conditions we were living then.

It was impossible to foresee what will occur and when. I understood in what danger was the bank in which and for which I was working. But the moment of failure came unexpectedly, and when it came I was no more a free man. As a member of the board I had to stay until depositors could be satisfied.

That was the first circumstance which deprived me of the possibility to dispose of my own fortune. Second, my younger son only began to adapt himself then to the conditions of the American life. He succeeded in that adaptation. The Russian professor of the Michigan University, S. P. Timoshenko, liked him. He succeeded in his learning and helped Mrs. Timoshenko in housework.

Later he began to work at the Ford factory by night and learn by day, and though overloaded he succeeded in the university and passed his examinations. My support to him was not sufficient, yet it was constant and, probably, the most significant. Up to the last my income let me continue my support to him.

The most considerable support was the honorarium in the amount exceeding 7,000 yen received from the Deutsche Bank. I was obliged for that to my colleague at the St. Petersburg University, Boris I. Elkin, who practiced law at first in Germany and later in Great Britain and who recommended me to the Deutsche Bank.

At the last year of my life in Harbin I received 2,000 gobi from the Manchurian industrialist, the owner of the sugar refinery Leo Zikman, together with whom I prepared a book under the title The Entrepreneur. He published it and compensated me for my work.

As regards the main ideas of that book, they were ours in common. Zikman was the initiator of our survey and inspired me with his experience and knowledge of the practical conditions of entrepreneurial activity. My ideas were connected with knowledge of the legal problems and

Guins: various existing systems of national economies. I acquired valuable experience in the form of personal impressions as a traveler in Europe and Asia as a legal counsel of the Ministry of Supply in Petrograd and as a member of the board of a large cooperative organization in Omsk and a small bank in Harbin.

Social Conditions in Harbin - Spies and Suspensions

Raymond: I see that you could not leave and that, in spite of all difficulties, you were secured from the material point of view. But I wish to ask you also whether you were satisfied with the social conditions of life established since the organization of the new regime?

Guins: I could not be quite satisfied with the new regime and conditions of life. Yet, as much as I am acquainted with the Soviet regime and conditions of life, it was better for me and my family to live in Manchukuo than to return to the Soviet Union even if it had been possible.

Let me at first characterize the regime in Manchukuo. The whole population was under the strict control of the police. In the cities, as I can imagine according to what existed in Harbin, every block had a certain observer who was obliged to inform the police about the inhabitants who left, arrived, and about suspicious people, if any, who received unknown persons or were doing something mysterious or incomprehensible.

Behind my house, or to say more exactly, behind the high wooden fence of my house, was living a Chinese man whom I never saw. Neither did I know who he was. Once a Japanese came to me and asked me who is my neighbor from the opposite street.

I went out together with him, showed him the fence and told him, "You see that behind this fence it is impossible to see even the house behind it, not so say about what is going on there." I never was interested in my neighbor, whom I did not know. He expressed his surprise that one might be so indifferent to what surrounded him and left, supposing maybe that I was not sincere.

Guins: My gardener, a Chinese, told me when the Japanese left, "That was a very bad man" (Ochen' ego plokhoi l'udi). He also told me that my neighbor was a Chinese. The system of putting people under observation was worked out by the Japanese perfectly.

If it would be applied in the United States, I could imagine that every Negro arriving to the city would be registered, and immediately another Negro would be appointed to observe him. Every block would have a certain observer. The same system could be applied for observation, if necessary, of the Cubans, Russians, etc.

But that is not all. The Japanese administration had organized special representative organizations of various national groups for defending the interests of their compatriots and at the same time to be responsible for their behavior.

In other words, these representatives of various nationalities assisted the administration to collect necessary data about their compatriots. The organizations 'Belyi dom' in Tientsin, the Bureau of Emigres in Harbin, were already mentioned. I do not know anything about the Tientsin organization, but in Harbin it was necessary for every Russian to be registered in the Bureau and to pay for the registration.

Every registered person received his personal certificate in the form of a small booklet. It was known in Russian as the "lichnaia knizhka" (personal booklet). I heard that an old lady came to the Bureau and asked for a "lichnaia knizhka," a word sounding similarly but meaning "useless" or "superfluous document."

Raymond: Did you register?

Guins: No. I hoped that nobody will disturb me with a demand to appear and explain who I was. I believe that I was not alone in ignoring such kind of requirements. But the Bureau collected money for covering organizational expenses and collected important data for various kinds of information. I am afraid that all these data were finally used by the Soviet agents when the Red Army occupied Harbin.

Let me say at present about the Russian political party which was favored by the Japanese administration and was also useful for certain functions of observation and intelligence.

Raymond: Were there some new ideological movements which could inspire young Russian people?

Russian Fascists

Guins: A group of Russian fascists was organized under the leadership of a former student of our College of Law, Rodzaevskii. He used to dress himself in boots and a shirt, something similar to the dark Nazi shirts but with a large leather belt over the shirt.

A certain group of comparatively young people accepted his leadership.

Raymond: Did you like that man who had been one of the students and, certainly, attended your class?

Guins: To say sincerely, I did not like him since the time when he was our student. Maybe I was not quite objective. I did not like his self-confidence. Answering my questions he usually started to say, "According to my opinion. . ." And I used to ask him to start with the opinions of "other thinkers."

I felt also that he was prejudiced against my ideas. But I did not know him sufficiently when he was a student, because he arrived from the Soviet Union comparatively late, having crossed, as I remember, the Amur River. He was interested originally in law but later mostly in economic subjects.

I considered him as an able and intelligent man, but I disliked him as a man with some repulsive traits of character. When he became a leader I never heard him but was told that he was a good speaker and could inspire people.

In his group there was a discipline, and he imitated Mussolini. Undoubtedly he was supported, otherwise I cannot understand how he could found a new newspaper, which was no less anti-Semitic than the Nazi papers.

There occurred one dreadful event in Harbin in which participation of Rodzaevskii's partisans was suspected. There was in Harbin a rich man, Kaspe, who owned the best

Guins: hotel, with a restaurant, and a jewelry store. He acquired some precious things in the Soviet Union and sold them among others in his store.

The son of that man was a gifted musician. He received his musical education abroad and returned to Harbin already as a professional musician. He was a very attractive young man and had a great success both as a musician and as a young man.

Suddenly he was kidnapped. And, as usual, his father received a letter in which a large ransom was demanded. He refused to pay. The next letter included a piece of the ear of the kidnapped youth and the father, Kaspe, was warned, "Either pay or your son will be killed." The ultimatum was rejected and the young man was found dead.

It was such a vile act that the whole population was indignant. Participants in such a crime were not discovered. But the anti-Semitism of Rodzaevskii and his imitation not only of Mussolini but in a considerable scale of Hitler, let people suspect if not his direct participation yet his inspiration.

I became myself a target of Rodzaevskii's attacks in his newspaper. There were various sins of mine which he exposed, among them that I sold myself to Jews and, in particular, had worked out for the Russian Bank of house-owners a less advantageous charter than for the Bank of Jews.

In fact, the latter accepted the standard form offered and recommended by the administration, while the meeting of the Houseowners' Bank members criticized the idea of shareholders' companies in general, and several amendments only complicated the charter and included some new paragraphs not necessary and not quite clear.

Finally I lost patience and published in the newspaper Zaria my answer to Rodzaevskii. My article evidently undermined his prestige. When I crossed the same day the river Sungari in a hired boat, the boatman recognized me and began to express his gratitude for my criticism of that villain Rodzaevskii. Many people expressed to me their approval and satisfaction.

Guins: Soon after the publication of my article, I received invitation to come to the police department for a discussion. I was warned that Rodzaevskii was also invited. I came; he was absent. I was told by a Japanese police officer that it is very disagreeable that the Russian emigres constantly quarrel with each other and that it would be better to stop polemics in the newspapers.

I answered that I defended myself, not attacked, and that the polemics with my former student did not interest me. "Let him cease his attacks and the polemics will be stopped," I declared. It was stopped.

Raymond: Did that mean that the Japanese administration wanted to support the prestige of Rodzaevskii?

Guins: Yes, I think so, because he was attracted to some kinds of activity as, for example, of the school administration, and those who favored him could not wish Rodzaevskii's disclosure.

It is worthy of mention that approximately at the same time and in any case in connection with my polemics with Rodzaevskii, a letter from the Ataman Semenov was published in the newspaper as a letter addressed to the editor. Ataman expressed in his letter indignation against articles criticizing Professor Guins.

Such kind of apologetics I could not expect. I had no contact with Ataman and the people of his surroundings. I could not explain his letter otherwise than as a reproach of those local administrative persons who encouraged attacks from the party of Rodzaevskii.

Some time later other surprises of the same kind took place. I had a visit of a man who was close to Ataman. He came to me for asking me whether I would enter in the government which could be organized in Vladivostok in case of the fall of the Soviet government in the Far East.

It was certainly a kind of examination. I answered to him offering some questions from my part. What does he know about the possible composition of the government? What reasons does he have for offering such kind of questions? In other words, instead of agreeing or disagreeing, I simply indicated to him that I cannot decide such a question as

Guins: that offered to me without any well-based information. I do not remember the subsequence, but I got also a letter from Ataman Semenov from Dairen, in which he informed me that 'Great Britain intends to support an anti-Bolshevik movement in the Far East' and asked me to write him whether I would join that movement.

This letter I considered as a test undertaken for investigating what is Mr. Guins's orientation. 'Does he sympathize more with the Western intervention; or is he ready to accept anyone?' I did not answer at once. For a while I even supposed that it will be better to leave without answering at all such kind of naive provocation.

But I decided that it is necessary to be polite. And I wrote that I was very surprised having read the letter, as I could not imagine that Great Britain might be interested in such local movements, and that it cannot be considered seriously if it needs such inconsiderable support as could be rendered by the forceless Far Eastern emigration. The correspondence was discontinued.

Raymond: How do you explain such kind of correspondence?

Guins: There were various organizations and persons who fulfilled the duties to observe and characterize the Russian emigres. Some discrepancies were inevitable. Hsinking, the capital, could be dissatisfied with the local Harbin initiative. In general, all more or less conspicuous Russian emigres were registered, and the local institutions had to collect factual data and try to catch one or another person on the political field.

Guins Harassed

Unfortunately I could feel such kind of observation. Once I received a letter from London, one of His Majesty's royal institutions, asking me whether I can prepare a short essay on the life of the Russian emigres in Manchuria for including into a proposed set of books on the resettlement of refugees after World War I in different countries.

Almost the next day my colleague, Professor Nikiforov, who was employed by one of the Japanese institutions in

Guins: Harbin, told me, "I heard today that you have received a letter from London and the Japanese are very interested in its content." I explained to him what kind of letter it was, and he advised me to go to the military mission and to inform them.

I did it, and I asked the officer to whom I was speaking what he thought about the letter, adding that I did not intend to touch any political problems. He told me that it would be better not to answer at all.

Raymond: It is curious. What did you do?

Guins: I decided that it would be not polite not to answer and that it would be worse to write that I was prohibited to write. I did not follow his advice and answered. I included in my letter some factual data: what was the composition of the emigration settled in Manchuria, how it was transported and supported, and how many Russians were living already in Manchuria and what were the prospects to find a roof and earnings.

I tried to characterize the conditions which differed in Manchuria from other places where the Russian emigres were coming after World War I and the revolution, and what were the organizations for assisting them--in other words, only the data which had a purely humanistic character.

My information, with the reference to me, was published in London in a publication which I found in the Library of the United Nations Relief and Rehabilitation Administration when in 1945 I was living at the University of Maryland campus preparing for service as a displaced persons specialist. There were no consequences of my ignoring the friendly advice.

Interrogation

As another illustration of the observation over me, I want to tell how once I was invited by telephone to come to the Japanese gendarme's office at the basement of the Yagunov house, where I am expected for an interrogation. I came. In the room to which I was invited there was only one person, a dragoman, a Japanese who could translate from

Guins: both Russian and Japanese.

He asked me what will I do with money which I just received from the liquidator of the Russo-Asiatic Bank. I told him that I did not receive anything. But I added that Mr. Okun, who had in the Bank about 200,000 yen, wanted to receive today a small amount for covering his expenses in going to Hsinking in connection with soliciting in the interest of all depositors.

He usually went together with two other depositors, who represented the interests of all depositors, and he paid for transportation, life in the hotel, and other expenses. The dragoman told me that such kind of expense could not be paid by the liquidator and asked me whether Okun had spent already money which he received.

Such a question I could understand only as a suspicion that Okun, in fact, paid me or another participant for the journeys to the capital of Manchukuo. I answered to the dragoman that the liquidator was appointed by the government and it was not my business to decide whether he has or has not the right to give Okun inconsiderable amounts of money, writing off this amount on his account equal to 200,000 gobi.

I added that if the government will decide that Okun has to cover expenses made in the interests of all depositors of the bank in liquidation, it can require the amount of money to be returned and I am sure that Okun can do it immediately. Such an answer obviously could not be parried, and I left the office.

I suspected that this incident was a result of somebody's slander based on the assumption that everybody is trying to catch something for his own interest and the hope that Guins could be caught and discredited.

Under the conditions of the emigre's life with its inconstant luck and permanent threat of sudden change for worse, it was not surprising that the unlucky people used to overestimate the means of the more lucky ones or suspect them to be more shifty and less scrupulous than they really were.

I consider such a phenomenon in emigre relations as usual, comparing it with one better known, namely, how people overestimate profits of businessmen and ignore or cannot

Guins: imagine how often they had losses. It was, therefore, understandable that private persons interpreted in conformity with the same usual approach every step connected with a "possible" appropriation of a certain amount of money or exploitation of a certain chance to get a profit.

But what amazed me was that Japanese officials had the same wrong attitude, at least in their attitude toward Russian people. I had experienced it in my personal contact with them. When our bank was in the stage of liquidation, the Japanese officials who arrived from the capital for the inspection examined the clerks of the staff.

They asked--let me speak about myself--how much Guins received for representing the bank in the court in connection with the proceeding against the debtors of the bank. They could not imagine and believe that I did it for evading expenses connected with invitation of attorneys of law and for diminishing expenses in the interests of the depositors.

Another analogous case took place in connection with the reorganization of the bank into a shareholders' company. The Ministry of Finance sent its official for inspecting all necessary formalities connected with the formation of shareholders' companies.

His first demand was to show what were the expenses connected with the reorganization of the bank. He could not believe how it was possible to expend such a small amount as we had spent. For preparing a new charter--nothing; for covering transportation expenses in connection with a series of journeys to the capital--an extremely small amount.

He later privately asked how it could be. I was going to the capital more often than any other, and I never included into my account the cost of the railway ticket for both ends of the journey. Why? As a former controller-in-chief, I used for a long time the privilege to use the free pass.

One more interesting detail. When my work Siberia, Allies and Kolchak was published, the publisher asked me for permission to send several hundreds of books to Europe in exchange for the publications in Berlin and Paris. Somebody

Guins: assured me that this kind of trade will be the most profitable. I did not object and accepted also another offer--to conclude a treaty with the experienced booktrader in Siberia, Mr. V. Possokhin, and to open our bookstore in Harbin. This

This business was only started when my brother, the officer of the army who was living under a false name in Krasnoyarsk where he had to stop during the retreat, succeeded to leave and arrived to Harbin. I occupied at that time a high post on the Chinese Eastern Railway and was not interested in the book trade.

My companion, Possokhin, was an elderly man, very cautious and conservative. In Siberia he had no competitors; in Harbin he had to compete with more experienced tradesmen. When my brother arrived from the Soviet Union I transferred my partnership to him, but not formally because of the protest of Possokhin.

In spite of that I had many troubles: now somebody spread gossips of my extra revenues; now another one about the sale of the Soviet literature, although all books were examined by the censors. Finally there was once a search in the bookstore, and this strengthened the position of the calumnists.

In fact, the policemen came to confiscate the American magazine Life, an issue in which there was published an article characterizing the Japanese emperor. This article had been considered as not sufficiently respectable.

So, as you can see, there were many nuisances in Harbin during that last period of my life there.

Guins's Publications

Raymond: I cannot still understand why you preferred to stay there. The more I am listening to you, the more I am surprised that you continued to live there.

Guins: You have forgotten that I considered it as my duty to stay until all depositors of the bank would be satisfied or at

Guins: least until such a satisfaction would be secured. I indicated also that I could not interrupt my support to my sons. But there was also another circumstance.

It was a period which coincided with my most productive scientific activity. I was writing one book after another: Social Psychology, Law and Culture, The Entrepreneur. I consider these three books the most valuable among my scientific works. I could not foresee World War II and that my works published in Russian will practically perish.

Raymond: What do you mean?

Guins: They were published in the Izvestiia Juridicheskogo Fakulteta, volumes XI and XII, and about one hundred copies were prepared separately. Almost all these books remained in Harbin and were sold to Chinese in bulk on weight at the time of the occupation of northern Manchuria by the Red troops.

The Chinese used them for wrapping small things in their shops. In the meantime both of them, I mean Social Psychology and Law and Culture, are original by content and well-documented. As regards the book The Entrepreneur, it was published separately and, I believe, was a little better distributed. Yet even that book remained without circulation which it deserved according to the opinion of several economists.

In my Social Psychology, I not only set forth the theories of the American and English scholars, specialists in psychology and sociology, and explained the factors of human behavior under the influence of the interaction and constant contact of human beings, but I added some new data and further development of the existing theories.

My work could be entitled also as "Man and the Society." Several chapters explained how human behavior could be predetermined, or changed for better or worse, by the influences of the milieu and education, how behavior could be sublimated by constant exercise, new ideas, psychological contagion, and how it could be elevated up to the summits of the spiritual heights, as for example, of holiness and self-sacrifice.

At the same time the ideas of reflexology and simplified behaviorism are also developed, and all these phenomena of

Guins: human behavior are characterized as a basis for the legislators, for explaining the significance of legislation as a motivating and educative force in the background of the education in general. I considered my work on social psychology as an introduction to the theory of law and politics and as a part of sociology: man as a particle of the society.

My other book, Law and Culture characterized legal order as a basis for civilization and at the same time as a factor of progress or regress, depending on its ethical principles and methods of stimulation and on the motives which a legal system encourages or, on the contrary, represses or neutralizes.

This, my work, was based on a study of legislation of various nations and of both very ancient periods and the modern time, including fascism, Communism, of the European nations and of Japan. I considered this my work as a second cornerstone for the further and conclusive book on the policy of law, and as a certain addition to the theory of law and sociology.

In the Library of Congress there is no copy of that my work, but a special card was prepared with my name as the author, the title of the work Law and Culture, and a reference to Volume XII of the Izvestiia Juridicheskogo Fakulteta.

As to the third book, The Entrepreneur, it was published in Russian but simultaneously translated into English and was supposed to be published in the United States. In that book it was emphasized that the entrepreneur as a particular type of man just like a scholar, artist, musician, or diplomat, has his specific ability and motivation.

The entrepreneur is disposed to risk; he is interested in various innovations, in expanding production, modifying it, applying new techniques, etc. Besides the characteristics of the entrepreneur, the book described various systems of economy and modern forms of regulated or planned economy: fascist, Communist, militaristic in Japan before and during World War II.

The description of various economic systems is connected with their appraisal from the point of view of the results of the limitations of the initiative and competition in favor of the regimentation.

Guins: Though the described systems of the Forties of our century lagged behind the present-day systems, the general situation did not change essentially. The problem of the free economy and regulated economy remains still an up-to-date problem. The difference consists only in the limits on freedom and in the search for the mitigation of coercion and bureaucratic control in countries supporting the predominance of the planned economy.

Raymond: Why was this book not published in English?

Guins: For the same reasons as various other plans which failed to be accomplished: due to the World War II. My co-author and the initiator of the book as an enterprise, Leo Zikman, covered all expenses, in particular the translation of the manuscript and, according to our contract, it was his right to find the publisher and conclude a contract.

In the meantime he remained during the war in Japan, while I succeeded to leave for the United States. We were separated from each other. I knew that Mr. Zikman sent the English manuscript to New York, to his representative, and I could not interfere.

The war was over, but the book did not appear. It later became more difficult to publish it without changes, as far as fascism and Nazism were defeated and the post-war economy had to be subject to various changes in both the free world and the world under Communism.

It is however, still not too late to revise and adapt the book to the conditions of the existing systems of economy. But this requires time, money, and energy.

Raymond: May I conclude that you were so drawn into your writings and projects that you did not find time or were not disposed to plan any essential changes of your conditions of life?

Guins: This is probably true. It was my wife who suggested to me the expediency to leave for the United States where, on the eve of World War II, were living both our sons. But I wish to emphasize also that in spite of various disagreeable circumstances the conditions of life in Manchuria were still not so bad for me. If I had some troubles it should be explained partly by the exceptional conditions.

Summary of Political Conditions in Manchuria

Guins: Japan was in a state of war with China. It was easy to occupy Manchuria, whose southern part was already under the Japanese control and was separated from China proper. But when operations spread into inner China in order to force the Chinese war lords to recognize Japanese domination or at least its influence, the immeasurable space of the Chinese territory became the invincible enemy.

It was not so difficult to occupy the railway lines, but between these railway lines were scores of millions of Chinese people who were unfriendly, and the Japanese military leaders began to become nervous.

At the same time it was difficult to foresee when and how will react the Soviet Union to the symptoms of tiredness of the Japanese troops. Two testing military operations undertaken by the Japanese against the Soviets--one near the Korean frontier, the other in the eastern corner of Outer Mongolia--proved to be unsuccessful for Japan. It was a heavy blow to Japanese self-respect and prestige.

At the same time it was not clear how Russians in Manchuria would react in case of unfavorable complications for Japan. All that must be taken into consideration when the Japanese moods and their attitude toward Russians and Chinese is characterized. The Japanese tried to lure Russians with offering them some modestly paying jobs. Those who accepted them lost any chance to survive if the Soviet administration returned.

For the same reasons every organization of definitely anti-Communist character was patronized by the Japanese, and the more was it extreme, the more was it patronized. Hence the success of Rodzaevskii. As it is everywhere, such functions as observation over the loyalty of various groups of population usually attract people not very scrupulous as spies and reporters.

But there are and were other kinds of people in Japan. I met and knew many Japanese intellectuals, diplomats, and administrators who could not deserve anything but respect and gratitude. The civil administration in the Manchukuo

Guins: capital was on a high level. The officers of the general staff whom I had a chance to meet were very intelligent and understood reasonable arguments.

Those Russians who did not lose their own self-respect and did not concede to every requirement or demand could notice that they were more respected than the people ready to please any wish. As a director of the bank in liquidation, I heard not once some demands which I rejected as illegal. I offered in case of insistence to write an official order, and in this case any insistence ceased.

Raymond: You have praised the central civil organization. Do you know any specific measures which were accomplished during the Japanese occupation of Manchuria?

Guins: I was acquainted only with financial measures and the administration of the railway. Money circulation was organized very well. Control over banks was very effective. Railways were working irreproachably.

In order to strengthen influence beyond the line of the railway, special settlements of Japanese colonists were organized with subsidies from the government. One could observe everywhere a certain plan.

Raymond: You have mentioned that some organizations of the Russian emigres were patronized by the Japanese administration. Were there any political organizations among them?

Guins: I should say that Russian emigres were divided primarily into two groups: Communists and anti-Communists. Pro-Communists not necessarily in the meaning that they accepted Communist ideology or became Marxists, but simply from the point of view of the possibility or expediency of cooperation with the Soviet institutions.

Some of the pro-Communists of that group were motivated in their orientation by the impossibility to expect any essential change in the order of evolution in the future. The anti-Communists, on the other side, asserted that emigrants might be the most useful for their fatherland by rejecting any cooperation and continuing the struggle against Communism, disclosing its evils in newspapers, magazines, and books, and supporting in such a manner a political war against Communism.

People of various political parties joined one or another group according to their convictions, and I do not remember

Guins: that there was interest in what political party of the pre-revolutionary period belonged one or another emigrant. Outside Russia it could have significance only from the ideological point of view. Contributors to one or another organ of the press each knew what kind of article would not be acceptable for certain newspapers or magazines.

Raymond: If I understand you correctly, Professor Guins, the division of emigrants in conformity with their former party membership did not display itself?

Guins: In Manchuria, you should add. I am speaking about the emigration in the narrow strip of the Chinese Eastern Railway, where there were not so many party workers, and where some sharp political disagreements could prevent any cooperation, for example, in the institutions of higher learning.

In Paris, quite the reverse, the newspapers Vozrozhdeine and Poslednie Novosti represented different political trends, and each one had its own circle of readers. Several organizations and many groups of the same professional character in Paris differed from each other in their composition. The members of one supported one and the members of another supported the other political program and party.

In Manchuria existed, of course, monarchists and Constitutional Democrats, socialists and partisans of the free economy. And in spite of such differences quite often people of different political convictions cooperated successfully in the same organization.

Raymond: Maybe there were some other differences which could prevent cooperation?

Guins: Oh yes, that's another question. Since the reorganization of the administration of the Chinese Eastern Railway and later of the Harbin municipality, and especially after the strengthening at first of the Chinese and later of Japanese domination, some groups of Russian people began to adapt themselves to the new conditions and to lose their interest and devotion to the national interests of Russia.

Some other groups began to work under the protection of the official organizations like the Bureau of Russian Emigres, in fact serving the interests of the Japanese administration.

Guins: The division into two groups--independent Russians and hired Russians--became much more significant than the division on the basis of differences of political ideology.

The Russian Emigre Youth

Raymond: Were there in Harbin some representatives of the young Russian people like those who were organized in the Western European countries?

Guins: Yes. There were some partisans of these new moods. For example, one of my former co-workers on the Chinese Eastern Railway told me that his son became a follower of the ideology whose main representative in France had been Kazem-Bek. The organization which he headed became known as the organization of "Mladorossy," or Young Russians, like the Young Turks (Mladoturki).

Kazem-Bek prophesized a strange combination of the Soviet system with monarchism. Such an idea, as I mentioned earlier, had been also formulated in Harbin in 1920, and did not find many partisans because it ignored the real essence of the Soviets as Communist party organs. The partisans of such an idea were probably inspired by a much older idea of a "People's monarchy" and "Peasants' Tsar" (Muzhizkii Tsar).

Another organization was the "Soluz Natsionalsticheskoi Molodezhi." I do not know when this organization had been formed, but not long before I left Harbin for the United States one former student of the Harbin College of Law, Karmilov, came to me and asked me to give him an article for a newly projected publication under the title Russkii Vestnik (Russian Monitor).

He explained that this publication supposed to be a periodical, whose main purpose is to represent the interest in the development of the Russian political thought of the past and present. He said that the Union of Nationalist Youth includes the organization of the Russian Scouts, the literary artistic circle of the Union of Monarchists, the literary musical circle of the Organization of Sportsmen, and is in contact with followers of National-Solidarists.

Guins: Karmilov told me that the members of the organization which he represented are very interested in my doctrine of solidarism and asked me to prepare an article on solidarism as I understood it. I agreed, and my article was published in the first issue of the publication Russkii Vestnik, 1941, under the title "Rukovodiashchaia ideia nashego veka" (A Leading Idea of our Age).

It is maybe the best short interpretation of my philosophy of solidarism. I left Harbin in June, 1941, and I do not know whether this publication continued to appear. Neither did I know that an organization of the Young Russian Nationalists existed at that time in Yugoslavia and that members of that organization were named by the older people the Nathsmalchiki (Boy Nationalists).

Already after the end of World War II, when I was living in California, I received a letter from Germany which informed me about that organization. The history of that movement was as follows.

There were many young men in Yugoslavia who considered their fathers and grandfathers to be responsible for the Russian Revolution. If they could not prevent the revolution it was because they had not sufficient authority, asserted these young men, and could not assure the dissatisfied groups of the nation that they had a new plan and new program based on new ideas.

The new generation was eager to decide what has to be done for building a new order which could restore the order and satisfy the nation. They were disposed to borrow fascism from Italy, or Nazism from Germany, adapted to the Russian conditions.

In the meantime on the market appeared the book On the Way to the State of the Future, "From Liberalism to Solidarism." This book gave them a new idea. It was published in Russian and was very well received. The Boy Nationalists became simultaneously "solidarists." The book received from Harbin proved to be a source of new political moods and expectations.

Raymond: You should be satisfied.

Guins: As I told you, I received that information when I was already in California.

Degeneration of the Educational System

Guins: As to the life in Manchuria, it was changing from bad to worse. After the incident connected with the reception of Roerich, many professors deserted. However, the College could not exist even if they had remained.

The subsidy from the Chinese Eastern Railway ceased, and last but not least, the control over the system of teaching, requirements, administration, and appraisal of the successes of students complicated the interrelations among and between the elected administration and the officials appointed by the Department of Education.

The faculty decided not to enroll new students, and after the graduation of the last course to liquidate the College. The Japanese administration was very glad that the problem of the existence of the Russian institution of higher learning was so simply solved.

The Japanese administration took it for granted that foreigners cannot open such kind of colleges. Instead of ours was established the Russo-Manchurian University. I was not invited originally to teach in that University. However in Harbin arrived from Tokyo General Mike, who in 1920 was one of the officers of the Japanese military mission in Irkutsk which opened its door to receive me.

General Mike had a great authority, and he recommended me to the Japanese major who was responsible for Russian affairs, and I began to give lectures in the new "University." However the name university must be taken in the quotation marks because it was not in fact an institution of higher learning.

When I expressed my astonishment that a student who did not receive satisfactory grades from me was nevertheless enrolled in the next course, I was told that this student succeeded very well in the abacus counting and in problems of anti-aircraft defense.

Our orientalist deciphred then the characters used for the name of our university and translated it not as university but as a school. By the way, at that time a new selection of characters was introduced for writing and

Guins: printing in Manchukuo, and Chinese said that they do not know whether they are writing and reading in Chinese or on Japanese language. It was the same system which was applied in the Soviet Union for rapproaching local languages to the Russian.

In China dialects differed essentially in south and north, and only literal language, the characters, were the same. Therefore a new selection of characters furthered isolation of Manchukuo from China proper.

My course of the theory of law was so short that it could not be considered as a course of the university. I was invited also to give lectures on the Soviet law in the Russo-Manchurian Institute. This college was established for Japanese students who had to speak Russian, study her history, and have a general knowledge of the Soviet constitution.

Such kind of academic activity could not satisfy me. I began to think about leaving Manchuria. There were no prospects for me in Manchuria. More and more people left for Shanghai. I decided that it would be better for me, as my wife suggested, to go to the United States, where both my sons were living: one as an engineer in Berkeley, California; the other in Ann Arbor, still a student.

Raymond: Was this before the war?

Guins: It was in 1940, before the beginning of the war between Germany and the Soviet Union, and certainly before the Japanese attack on Pearl Harbor.

Raymond: Did you have any feelings that there was a danger of Japan getting into the war?

Guins: Where, against Russia?

Raymond: No, in the World War, and that you might then be caught in the middle.

Guins: Oh yes, that was also possible. The Japanese did not conceal their plans. Just before I left, I had read a memorandum about the Japanese plans to occupy Malaya, the Philippines, and Hawaii.

Raymond: Where did you get this memorandum from?

Guins: A Japanese girl distributed it. We read it. And besides, they published a magazine which I remember was called the Manchurian Monitor, or something like that, and was published in Russian. In this magazine were published articles against the United States. One of the Japanese with whom I met often told me that the worst enemy of Japan was the United States.

PART V. LEAVING MANCHURIA FOR THE UNITED STATES, 1941

Preparations to Leave

Guins: I decided to leave Manchuria, but it was not so simple and easy to do. In order to leave Harbin, it was first necessary to receive permission from the police, that means from the Japanese police. I received it.

Then I asked the United States consulate for a visa and received that very easily because I was born in Poland, and there was a very favorable quota because Poland was occupied by the German army. The U.S. consul moved from Warsaw to Berlin, and it was easy at that time to receive visa for Poles who had access to Berlin. But there were very few such Poles as me who were living outside Poland and wanted to go to the United States. I received a U.S. visa very soon.

I asked then for a Japanese visa for going to Yokohama to board there a Japanese steamer. And I had no doubts that I would get this visa, because the permission from the Japanese police was already in my hand.

Difficulties in Obtaining a Japanese Visa

In the meantime Zina Vologodskaia, who lived in Shanghai, arrived to say good-bye to my wife and me. She went to the Japanese consulate for getting the visa which she needed for returning to Shanghai, and a Russian lady who was employed by the consulate whispered to her, "Tell Professor Guins to come as soon as possible."

Guins: I came after a couple of hours, and she told me to go to the vice-consul. "There are troubles with your visa," she added. I knocked at the vice-consul's door and told him that I had leased my house and that everything was ready for my departure and that I had come to get the visa.

He began then to talk about general things but did not give me a direct answer when I would be able to get the visa. Finally he told me that he could not say why, but probably there were some complications with my visa at the top. I did not know what to do.

"Maybe I should address the military mission?" I asked him. I had connections with an officer of the military mission, because during the liquidation of the bank we had always to report to the mission on its developments and received various kinds of instructions and orders.

The chief of the mission was, in fact, as I told earlier, the governor-general of northern Manchuria, and the major with whom I had business connections was the official for the Russian affairs. Having had numerous meetings with him, I had earned his respect because sometimes he gave me orders which I could not and refused to fulfill.

He certainly understood that I was not the man who would do everything commanded. The Japanese respected such kind of people. And he believed at the same time that I would not do anything anti-Japanese, because I was loyal.

So when I visited him and informed him about my troubles, he called somebody and began to speak in Japanese. After a sufficiently long time conversation, he told me to come after tomorrow for getting an answer. I left and came back, and he told me to go to the consulate and get the visa.

Raymond: You have no idea what the difficulty was?

Guins: I didn't know but could later guess. I went to the consulate, received my visa, and the same lady who was so kind to warn me in time told me that I should visit the vice-consul after receiving my visa. I went to him and he asked me if I had the visa.

I told him that I got it. "Well," he said, "go to the general consul. He wanted to talk to you." He called the

Guins: consul general by telephone and was told that Mr. Guins will be welcome. I came. The consul general also asked if I had a visa. I thanked him. Then he asked me whether I prepared a manuscript about Japanese activities in Manchuria and intended to publish it in the United States. I told him I did not. He told me that they had heard that I had such a manuscript.

I answered that it could be a misunderstanding, because I had a manuscript but it was not about the Japanese in Manchuria but was an English translation of my book in Russian, The Entrepreneur. I had a copy of this manuscript which, as I supposed, might be published in the United States.

This book was censored by the police before it was published and returned to me with a permit to publish it. The book includes a description of the existing Japanese economic system at that time as well as others.

The consul general then asked me whether I intended to write anything on Manchukuo. "No, I will not write," I said. "I am sure," I added, "that the American correspondents who visited Manchuria collected much more material than I could do, and I had never interest in such subjects." The consul general was satisfied and said me farewell.

By Ship to Japan and the United States

I departed in two days. In Dairen, on the board of the steamer on which I had to depart to Kobe, there was a Japanese agent who began again to question me. "You are going to Japan. Will you visit anybody in Tokyo?" he asked me.

"Yes, I will visit such and such persons," I answered.

"Well then, good-bye. I know them," he told me.

Raymond: Was there anything interesting during your journey from Dairen to Kobe?

Guins: It was my third tour from Dairen to Kobe, Japan. This time the sea was not quite calm and I did not feel well. The most interesting was a surprise. I looked out the window of our cabin when we were approaching Kobe and was amazed. In the considerable distance there was almost all of the Japanese fleet.

It was absolutely impossible to count the warships, but it was an impressive demonstration of the Japanese sea power. And think what was my surprise for the second time when, on the next day when we moved from Kobe, there was no warship at all at any distance. Evidently the fleet moved in an unknown--unknown to the strangers--direction. It was probably the whole Pacific Ocean fleet of Japan.

Especially for me there was also a surprise. On the board of the Tatsuta Maru, the ocean steamer on the board of which we had to go to San Francisco, I noticed the same Japanese agent who offered to me a series of questions before our departure from Dairen.

How he could reach Yokohama so soon after us I do not know. Yet it was he. Welcoming me, he asked me whom had I seen in Yokohama and in Tokyo. I answered him indicating hours when I was in one and in another city. He was interested whether I made a tour inside or around one or another city. I did not, and I explained to him why: I had with me my devoted dog, the German sheep dog, and did not wish to leave it for the whole day alone.

Raymond: You had, I believe, still more interesting observations when you were on board the Tatsuta Maru?

Guins: I will try to remember as much as I still can in the chronological order. First of all, when our steamer left Yokohama, it did not move far from the shore when all passengers were invited to leave their cabins as well as all the decks and to descend into the dinner hall. They were warned also that nobody could go away until it will be permitted by the captain.

When all passengers gathered as they were instructed, the steamer stopped. We had the impression that somebody arrived for inspection or something was delivered and loaded aboard. We did not see or hear anything. But it wouldn't be necessary to stop the steamer and isolate all

Guins: passengers unless a certain person, a certain act, or a new load had to be hidden from the eyes of the passengers.

Then we continued our journey. The weather had been during the whole journey excellent. On the upper deck and in the hall of the first class during the demonstration of films and other entertainments, it was possible for us, the passengers of the second class, to meet the passengers of the first class.

Fellow Passengers

There were among the passengers many American missionaries who left Japan because they were warned that their conditions of life in Japan would become worse. They were advised to leave for the United States.

In fact, even in Manchuria, from which some kinds of food were exported, we experienced some need in various products since the end of 1940. Distribution by rationing began already to be applied in Harbin.

There were also among the passengers, probably in the third class, several young men, Spaniards. In the first class, as we were informed later, there were diplomats who represented in Moscow the Balkan countries occupied already by the German army: Yugoslavia, Bulgaria, and Greece.

One of them, a Greek consul, was a Greek born in Russia. He spoke Russian as if he were Russian himself. The Soviet government offered to those diplomats to leave the Soviet Union on the ground that they were accredited by the government which ceased to exist.

Such an act was rather a gesture to the side of the aggressors and of indifference toward the fate of the relative Slavic nations and orthodox Greece. I remember that among the diplomats who were passengers on the Tatsuta Maru, there was also a British representative, maybe a military attache recalled from Moscow.

Raymond: Had you any contacts with them?

Guins: Among the diplomats. Naturally the Greek consul and his wife considered us as their countrymen, especially because my grandfather and many relatives in Odessa were also of Greek origin. But he was the less informed as regards the problems of international significance.

He related to us some stories characterizing the way of life. Once they were invited to a Russian family. Pirozhki were promised as a main dish. The Russian family occupied only one room and used the common kitchen. The consul and his wife were surprised that their hostess opened several times the door, looked to the corridor, and again closed the door.

Pirozhki did not appear. At last the hostess told them that she was waiting for the moment when some of the co-inhabitants of the apartment will go away. Otherwise, she explained, they will attack her and grab the pirozhki, "the bourgeois dainty dish," when she will carry them from the kitchen. There was also a story about the bathroom and washing there dresses and underclothes--all stories of the zoshchenko's style.

From the Greek consul we heard about the motives of the departure of the diplomats, and he attracted our attention to one diplomat who probably had some important documents which he was carrying on himself.

The Spaniards related in turn their story. They took part in the civil war in Spain which preceded World War II. The Soviet officers and diplomats took an active part on the side of the revolutionaries, and after the victory of Franco, they assisted evacuation from Spain to the Soviet Union of a number of the participants of the defeated party.

In the Soviet Union the evacuated were treated very hospitable and felt themselves quite well but only until it became clear that there was no hope for the renewal of the civil war. Then there was no other choice for them but either to return to Spain or to join the Russian Communists.

But they could not receive permission from the Soviet government to leave. They were not permitted even to write letters to their relatives. Thus there was only one possibility--to submit to their destiny and to be transformed into Russian Communists.

Raymond: How did they succeed to escape?

Guins: One of them succeeded to deliver his letter to the United States embassy in which he included another letter to his and his friends' relatives living in Argentina. They explained their conditions and asked for Argentine visas and money for journey expenses.

Their letter was forwarded to Argentina and they received necessary visas, including transit visas from the United States and money for covering expenses. These Spaniards were probably the happiest people on the board of the steamer. One could see what was their joy when they acquired in Honolulu new pants and after many years could renew for the first time their old dress.

Raymond: Do you know, Professor Guins, what happened to other Spaniards who remained during World War II in the Soviet Union?

Guins: I think I know, at least about a certain number of them. Approximately in 1945 or 1946, the Soviet government agreed to let many of them return home, to Spain. They arrived home and were very cautious in their conversations with the foreigners. It became possible to hear only some usual stories about various troubles.

Raymond: Were there any other interesting passengers besides the exiled diplomats and a group of happy Spaniards set free?

Guins: I do not remember any others who looked like birds released from the cage. But there was a mysterious passenger who occupied a separate cabin just beside the cabin which was occupied by myself and my wife. This passenger was a Japanese.

His appearance was very ordinary. I did not see him on the deck or in the dining room. Sometimes I met him in the corridor. He did not attract my attention until I had the chance to see my neighbor in the role of a magician, or maybe it will be more correct to say of a juggler.

It was in the great hall of the steamer during the program of entertaining the passengers. He pulled out of the sleeve of his jacket a number of various national flags, some things from an empty hat, etc. One can see such feats on many television programs. What attracted my attention, soon after the seance, was that in the cabin of my neighbor the juggler there were from time to time several people, including the captain of the steamer.

Guins: Once in the night, when I and my wife were already to bed, a steward unexpectedly opened the door of our cabin and looked inside. "What's the matter?" I asked.

"A storm is possible," he answered, "and I check where are the trunks, as they can fall on the passengers." I believed him, but there was absolutely no symptoms of a storm and the night was quite calm, as all others during our travel.

I decided that my neighbor could be an officer disguised and that he wanted to be sure that nobody was listening to what questions were discussed in his cabin. I heard that many Japanese barbers in the cities of the Far Eastern countries were in fact Japanese officers. Why couldn't there be the same kind of disguising of an officer during the journey on the steamer as a juggler?

Many other suspicions appeared in my imagination. I could not forget what I heard and read before my departure about the possible Japanese expansion in Asia and that the United States was considered to be the worst enemy of Japan.

Then I paid attention to the particular structure of the Tatsuta Maru, the steamer on the board of which we were crossing the Pacific. It was so wide that a small plane could use it as a landing ground, I thought. The "magician" could be an officer for giving instructions in case of the declaration of war.

My apprehensions were strengthened when we were told that the steamer which we were observing in a distance and which was moving in the opposite direction was the Japanese steamer which at that time, according to the time table, had to be only in Honolulu. It was clear that it was going faster according to the instruction received from Tokyo.

However, when we arrived to Honolulu everything there was according to the routine. It was very pleasant to see American physicians, custom employees, and immigration agents who came for fulfilling their duties. I was observing how from our steamer were unloaded baskets with unknown goods, and how much could be put inside if the Japanese had really prepared for a war with the United States.

But I could not notice any vestige of anxiety or suspicion on the faces of the American officials or any abnormality in the behavior of people who were on the pier.

Guins: The attractive Hawaiian girls decorated with flower necklaces met us with their usual welcome songs. There was time at the passengers' disposal for a tour.

We were invited to the factory where we tasted excellent pineapple juice. A group of passengers organized a tour around the southern part of the island. We joined them and enjoyed sightseeing, breathed in the fresh air saturated with the fragrance of the flowers, and stopped for a short time on the beach of Waikiki.

Political Complications

All my suspicions appeared to me a result of survived troubles and doubts, and I returned to the steamer satisfied with the first impressions of the contact with the territory controlled by the United States.

The next days of our journey were the days of expectations. We began to imagine ourselves approaching the San Francisco port, the meeting with our son and relatives who will wait for us, the sightseeing of San Francisco, one of the most beautiful cities in the world.

But our expectations were suddenly betrayed only several hours before the end of the journey. Almost all passengers were on the upper deck, and the lights of San Francisco were appearing in the long distance when a passenger came running from the cabin which was below and, nervously expressing his anxiety, informed all passengers on the upper deck, "The steamer turned back! My trunk, which was standing on the floor, fell, and my compass indicated the turn to the opposite direction."

It was true. The lights of San Francisco soon disappeared.

Raymond: It is a stirring story! If you were not here, I should suppose that you lost the chance to come to the United States. I hope you will relate some details about your further survival.

Guins: I will. It was in fact an exciting story. As you can imagine, one could hardly sleep peacefully this night.

Guins: Fortunately the steamer after two hours approximately ceased to move. We were standing in the open sea. Since the early morning passengers shared with each other their surmises. What happened? Why? Where? When? The most important was the problem of whether it was a political or technical case.

At last somebody brought a news. The captain informed us that the machines proved to be out of order and as it would be too expensive to repair them in the port and to pay for the moorage, he decided to stop in the open sea.

We wished to believe, but some less gullible people quickly dissuaded all. "There were no sounds in the engine room." "All chairs were taken out from the deck as happens at the end of a journey." "There were no reasons to leave the passengers without information up to the morning." And so on.

All these and other surmises and reasons let us guess that we were victims of some political complications. But of what kind? During the whole day and the several next days we could not get some more credible news.

The next day proved to be even more troublesome. It was prohibited to use the radio. It was prohibited without explanation of the reasons. During the dinner we received the instructions to use sparingly fresh water for both drinking and washing. We were asked also to economize on fruits and food and to leave untouched what one does not eat or does not wish to eat.

All that could but convince us that it was a "political machine" which had to be repaired. There was no comfort. The possibility to be returned back was not excluded.

On the third day the machines suddenly started to work. The Tatsuta Maru began to tremble as if it had been awakened and had to get up after a sweet sleeping. We were going, but where? Maybe back. It was necessary to decide what place to choose, if we will have a chance to choose.

If the steamer could not enter San Francisco, neither will it enter Honolulu. But we had many American missionaries on the board, and we could not believe that the U.S. government will leave them without support. That sedative thought supported our patience and hope.

Guins: In the meantime the steamer after two hours of movement stopped for the second time. Such a maneuver was repeated not only once. When the passengers could observe another steamer going in the long distance, some of them expressed the hope that it was a steamer which will take all of us on its board. But every time a promising savior passed by.

Raymond: Would you return to Harbin?

Guins: My house was leased and the furniture sold to the tenant. I gave up the positions which I had. The problem was very difficult. Anyhow I would not return to Harbin. My German sheep dog shared my anxiety. Once it began to howl. It was dreadful.

Only after four days we found out that there were very important negotiations between Tokyo and Washington, D.C. about a certain embargo, and Washington guaranteed that the declared embargo would not be applied to the cargo on the Tatsuta Maru.

We entered San Francisco. The steamer hardly stopped when it was literally besieged by correspondents. For five days it had been a sensational story.

Arrival in San Francisco

Raymond: What were your first impressions?

Guins: I felt that I saw again a Western nation after so long life in Asia among the people of Chinese and Japanese origin. I had not and have no national prejudices, yet I could not but feel that I would be very eager to live in the United States after so many years in the Far East.

It was a double pleasure to enter San Francisco Bay after five days when we did not know whether or not the steamer would be returned to Asia. But it was also quite a new experience for me when no less than twenty correspondents of different newspapers came on board of the steamer.

Guins: And it was really funny to watch how one correspondent tried to catch up with the other. They were questioning the passengers aboard about their impressions during the last days and their plans for the future, whether they would like to remain or to return.

 Since my English was very poor, I did not wish to be questioned, but I heard the questions being asked about how one lived, what the conditions of life were, did one listen to the radio, etc.

 The captain of the Tatsuta Maru was right when he told us, "Don't worry about your relatives in San Francisco, they will know everything that happened." It was so in fact. My wife's sister told me that they listened to the radio and they knew everything about the situation of that time and what happened on the steamer until it was berthed.

 The procedure of luggage inspection was very lengthy, and we left the steamer only in the evening. When we were crossing the new Bay Bridge by car which, as I remember, was completed just one year earlier, 1940, I was definitely impressed by its size. I could have never imagined anything like that.

 The next morning I left the house with my dog for an early walk. I was surprised with the relative comfort of life in this small part of Berkeley close to the Bay, where my son rented a small house. It was the region west of San Pablo where all houses were small and each one in a certain distance from the other with lots of flowers on the lawns. I was really surprised when I compared them to what we had on the borders of Harbin.

 So the first impressions were very good, and I felt very happy. But after several weeks, when I was already accustomed to my surroundings, I started to become anxious about the future. It would have been impossible to live continuously with my son, who had at that time a very modest salary.

 He was a responsible engineer with the Jacuzzi Brothers Company but earned only \$100.00 per month. I just had to think about what kind of job I would have to get. I should say that after all expenses of the long journey I had only \$72.00 in my pocket.

Raymond: Didn't you sell your house in Harbin?

Guins: I did not. I knew that if I had sold my house, a policeman would come the next day and ask what I will do or had done with the money I received and how much I would give for the needs of the Japanese army. Such was the practice of that time.

Without special permission it was impossible to transfer money abroad. Many people who sold their houses in Harbin lost almost everything they received. Besides, I did not know whether I will return or not, and in any case I preferred to make the impression that I wanted to return to be sure that I will get permission to leave without fail.

When I decided to leave I wanted to do it as soon as possible. I asked for tickets on the first steamer which will leave, and it proved to be the last from Japan. The next one reached Honolulu and returned back. I left my house to my relatives who moved into this house later. It was their only source of existence, since they did not pay rent for their apartment and received or had the right to receive some rent from the tenants.

Raymond: And you never got it back after the war?

Guins: No. It is lost. My relatives had left Harbin, and they had no right to sell it.

Raymond: So with \$72.00 in your pocket, you had to look for a job?

Guins: I had insurance with the West Coast Insurance Company.

Raymond: Whom did you buy this insurance from?

Guins: I suppose from your father, who had been the agent of the insurance company. It was a good bargain. When I arrived to the United States I could receive \$1000 over the amount already borrowed for the support of my sons. The term of contract would expire in three years. The whole amount of insurance was \$3,000.

The first invitation and chance to earn came from the Russian Center in San Francisco to give some public lectures. I gave four public lectures. For the first, the hall was

Guins: almost full. This was very good for the Russian Center-- better than for me, because I only received \$35 to \$40, which they paid me for each lecture.

The second and succeeding lectures were not so successful for the Russian Center, but it continued to pay me my honorarium. In total I received about \$120. The chairman of the Russian Center told me then that we had to stop the lectures because the number of visitors was steadily decreasing. The amount I received was anyhow some help.

However I had later to borrow \$100 for my expenses from a friend of my son. In November I received another invitation from the Russian Center to become editor of the newspaper project still in the planning stage which was supposed to be called the Russian Life.

In fact the newspaper began to be published in the middle of December, 1940, and I was invited as its editor with a monthly salary of \$100. I worked very much because I was not only the editor, but also the editorial writer, corrector, and sometimes translator. Sometimes more than half of the contents of the paper came from me.

But at the end of the first month, I received only from \$10 to \$15, because the Russian Center could not pay my salary. Such a situation continued for months. Only sometimes when my friends subscribed to the newspaper I received more, as the subscription fee remained at my disposal as a part of the salary. But I could not exist on it.

I remember how the president of the Russian Center, the late general Vaguin, brought me \$30 for my Eastern holidays expenses in April, 1942. My general condition continued to be rather sad. I had to sell some books and things of mine. Conditions improved for me only in 1943, when the University of California invited me to teach Russian to the soldiers.

Raymond: Was that the ASTP, the Army Specialized Training Program?

Guins: I guess they called it so. I also remember that since the end of 1942 I already received my salary as editor, \$100 per month. My conditions improved very much when I began to receive also my salary from the University. But in

Guins: March of 1944 Washington instructed the University to discontinue all language programs. And again I remained with my poor salary as editor.

In the meantime, my son had left Berkeley for Palo Alto in 1942, as he had been invited by the Handy Iron Company in Sunnyvale, later incorporated by Westinghouse. So I had to live in San Francisco and to pay for both a room and food, as I was living separately. I was therefore very disappointed when the work for the ASTP was discontinued.

But somebody told me that as I already worked for the government I could get a new job through a special employment service in San Francisco. I was offered in fact at once a job as a typist. But I could not accept that offer as I could not type well especially in English.

After I explained in the employment office that I was a professor of law and knew French and German, I was told that there is a more proper job, and although there were few chances for me to get it, they would try to recommend me.

It was explained that a new international body would be organized in Washington, D. C., and the employment office had been asked if they had some qualified specialists having necessary experience and knowledge. I was warned that very many qualified people might be interested in such kind of service--being connected with a newly organized international institution. I was not told which one.

I filled in a form of questionnaire, and it was sent to Washington, D. C. Soon the people to whom I referred in the form as knowing me began to receive requirements from Washington for giving information about me. But only in November, 1944, seven months after my visit to the employment office, I received a wire offering me a position of displaced persons specialist with the United Nations Relief and Rehabilitation Administration (UNRRA) organization in Washington, D. C.

I certainly accepted that offer, and in December, 1944, I was already in the capital of the United States.

Raymond: You are supposed to have many interesting meetings and observations during your connections with that organization.

Guins: It was the beginning of a new period of my life. If I relate about that period shortly it will look like a summary of even a list of the events and meetings with various kinds of people: Americans, foreigners, and Russians.

During that period I was teaching in the University of California, attended an International Congress of Jurists in Berlin, published two books and a number of articles in American, German, French, and Russian publications, and had a position with the Voice of America.

I believe that it would be better to have a series of special interviews devoted to that period of my life. I would be glad to share with you my observations and impressions based on comparisons and studies. In general, it was the happiest period of my troublesome life.

Boris Raymond was born of Russian parents in Harbin, China, in 1925. His father, Dimitry Romanoff, had been a young officer of the Imperial Guards during the First World War. After the Revolution he found himself in Siberia, in the ranks of Admiral Kolchak's White armies, with which he eventually retreated through Siberia to China, where Mr. Raymond was born. Mr. Raymond's maternal grandfather, Boris Ostroumoff, played a prominent role in Manchuria as general manager of the Chinese Far Eastern Railroad; he was mentioned by Professor Guins in his interview.

Mr. Raymond was educated in French and British schools in Tientsin, Shanghai, and Saigon. In April, 1941, he came to San Francisco, where he graduated from George Washington High School in 1943.

After serving in the United States Army and seeing combat as an infantryman in Europe, Mr. Raymond returned to California, where he began his studies at the University of California, Berkeley. He received the B.A., M.A. (Sociology), and M.L.S. degrees from this institution. In 1964 he joined the University Library staff as Russian bibliographer. He is presently (1967) Assistant Director of Libraries, University of Manitoba in Canada, where he is continuing his research on the history of Russian emigration.

